

Beyond the Boundaries of Home

Interdisciplinary Approaches



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This book was devised, written and edited during a Book Sprint over the course of four days. In the creation of this work we would like to thank all contributors whose efforts have made this possible. Firstly, thanks to all the Book Sprint authors: Alexa, Eduard, Ketan, Marian, Myles, Naomi, and Tom. The Sussex Research Hive Scholars, supported by The University of Sussex Library and SAGE Publications, organised the event. Thanks also go to Professor David Berry and The Sussex Humanities Lab. Finally, enormous thanks to our Book Sprint facilitator Dr Catherine Pope.

Published by University of Sussex Library, Brighton, 2/6/2017

ISBN: 978-0-9957862-2-6 DOI: 10.20919/9780995786226

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1. Introduction

This book is about the manifold interpretations and readings to which the concept of home lends itself. The authors show that home is a socially constructed phenomenon, with blurry boundaries and not free of conflict. It also shows that individuals, experiences, language, social and legal structures as well as history shape our conceptions of home, which are constantly shifting and being reconfigured.

Because of its varied nature, home is a concept that allows for an interdisciplinary group of experts to provide an insight into how their ideas about such a quotidian concept can be shaped by their own work and explored through the lens of their disciplines.

It was written during a Book Sprint at the University of Sussex. The authors had just four days to plan, write, edit, and publish the book. The first day was spent designing the structure of the book. The second and third day were devoted to intensive writing. Each author worked in his or her chapter, and at the end of the day reviewed the chapter of another author. The reviewers' comments and feedback contributed to improve the quality and consistency of the chapters. By midday on the final day, the authors submitted their final drafts to a team of proofreaders. The book was published at 7pm.

All the authors are researchers at the University of Sussex and they work in the varied disciplines of law, history, art history, sociology, migration studies, creative media and maths.

Marianela Barrios Aquino focuses on the construction of home in the migration experience as well as the construction of multi-layered belongings. While exploring the effects of migration on the construction of identities and homemaking strategies of migrants, Marianela argues that in the context of transnational migration, the concept of home focuses on its emotional perspective rather than its territorial connection, because it is constituted as a process of change and of searching related to the construction of multiple and extraterritorial ways of belonging. Furthermore, she challenges notions of home as static and territorially bounded arguing that for migrants home is something highly mobile and flexible.

Eduard Campillo-Funollet applies a set of data analysis tools to the study of the concept of home on the social network Twitter. The main goals are to understand how the concept of home is used in Twitter, and also to show the power of data analysis techniques to study problems in humanities and social sciences. The study focuses on a dataset of tweets that contain the word home. After a preliminary exploration of the data, the chapter presents an analysis of the word frequency in the tweets, a sentiment analysis, and an application of a word sense disambiguation algorithm.

Naomi Daw examines the relationship between stereoscopic photographs, travel, and the home. Using three stereoviews, she takes a look at the stereoscopic phenomenon. She focuses on how stereoscop-

ic views of the world helped Victorian and Edwardian viewers explore their place in the world, comprehend its many different sites, and how this facilitated and reinforced their understanding of home.

Ketan Jha examines contemporary immigration detention procedures and Home Office enforcement practice through the lens of liminality. The chapter examines case law in the European Court of Human Rights, British appellate courts, and criminological studies conducted inside Immigration Removal Centres in light of Giorgio Agamben's state of exception.

Myles Logan Miller offers a brief exploration of the relationship between identity, home, and the wider environmental factors which influence the understanding of home as it relates to East Germany during and directly following German Reunification. He offers a narrative and analysis on the development and destruction of a distinctly East German sense of home and self by exploring themes of education, socio-economic upheaval and inequality, consumption, and one woman's struggles to come to terms with her memory and identity as an East German.

Alexa Neale uses the case study of an alleged murder in a mews in Knightsbridge in 1932 to investigate the ways in which the home was interpreted beyond its immediate judicial context. The 'prodigally furnished' home of wealthy socialite Elvira Barney, Alexa argues, demonstrates that the boundaries between public and private, home and the street, could be pushed, tested and negotiated. Beyond the luxurious curtains and matching wallpaper, the 'bijou cocktail bar' and outrageous artwork, the little house known as 'Love Hut' allowed residents and visitors to enjoy experiences of home denied to neighbours and contemporaries.

Tom Ottway firstly provides a broad overview of how home has been conceptualised in terms of space and place by academics in fields as varied as cultural studies, urban studies, sound studies, sonic art, geography, history, law, criminology and migration studies. He then demonstrates that by actively engaging in 'doing' a critical geography of home, by creating and analysing audio ethnographies, including an auto-audio ethnography of those working together to produce this intervention on home, the gap between academic and participant; academic and artist; analysis and performance is removed, and powerful sonic micro-geographies and micro-histories emerge that constitute 'life listening', which inform the writing on home.

2. Murder at the 'Love Hut': at home with Elvira Barney. By Alexa Neale

This chapter uses a micro-history approach to explore a single home that was the site of an alleged murder in 1932. Resisting attempts to generalise, the micro-historical method focuses on the specificities of a single case study (or in some instances, a small selection of studies) that is illustrative of wider themes in contemporary social and cultural life (Kilday and Nash, 2017). The present chapter uses a case of murder because the archives for these crimes are rich in detail for everyday lives in the past. Indeed, many other historians of crime and culture have taken advantage of the same collections used here (Bell, 2015; Bland, 2013; Frost, 2004; Grey, 2012; Houlbrook, 2012; Laite, 2012; Mort, 2010; Wood, 2012). However, few historians have used crime sources specifically to study homes (exceptions include Moss, 2011), and few studies of home benefit from sources that offer as much textual description from multiple angles and directly comparable visual materials as case files for domestic murders (Blunt and John, 2014).

This chapter will use the case of Elvira Barney (defendant) to argue that, despite the dichotomies of inside/outside and public/private usually used to refer to the home (Blunt and Dowling, 2004), homes in the past can more accurately be seen as microcosms of wider social and cultural life in which boundaries are constantly being tested and negotiated. Police investigation and judicial processes that explored the interior of a home, literally and figuratively, attempted to isolate the crime-scene home from the wider social, cultural and political world outside. To explain, justify and narrativise events, the internal workings of the home were prioritised and the immediate family and closest neighbours gave evidence in court. Further, the micro-scales of the home were prioritised in textual, visual (photographic) and geographical (scale floor-plans) representations of the crime scene that focused on a small area, most often bounded by the walls of the house. Though this reflects the reality of crime (most murders, for example, are perpetrated by members of the same household as the victim), it had the impact of making murders and/or other crime events appear to be isolated, one-off incidents, rather than an extreme outcome of everyday interactions and conflicts.

The fact that Elvira Barney was charged with murder means that the processes of investigation that led to the courts, and the trial itself, have left an archival record that can be explored. The seriousness of the alleged crime also generated many more newspaper column inches than less sudden or suspicious deaths at home at the time. Further, Elvira was a connected and high-profile figure in contemporary London (though little-known today), adding to public interest and debate, generating additional documents for the historical record. The specificities of the case also show that murder or violent death could happen anywhere, regardless of boundaries of class, geography and culture. Through this case I argue that the boundaries of home did not begin and end at the door and the walls, but were more flexible, in a constant state of negotiation.

Elvira Barney was the eldest daughter of Sir John Mullens, wealthy stockbroker to King George V, and his wife Lady Evelyn, née Adamson. Elvira was a debutante, a wealthy socialite and a party girl. She was probably the inspiration for Evelyn Waugh's character of Agatha Runcible in his novel *Vile Bodies* (1930). Like Agatha, Elvira was wealthy, influential, reckless, loved partying and driving cars and was

involved in a serious high-profile car crash. She may also have inspired Noel Coward's character Elvira in his play *Blithe Spirit* (1941). Elvira is also an important person to study because she was a bisexual woman, an identity frequently erased from historical writing, though she did not live as an openly queer woman in the sense that we might recognise it today. Many scholars writing about the history of sexuality have argued that queer identities, as we understand them now, do not accurately map on to the past. Harry Cocks, for example, has argued that the binaries of homo/heterosexual are recent, echoing Foucault's assertion that sexuality as selfhood is peculiar to the present (Cocks, 2006; Foucault, 1976). These arguments are supported by other recent histories of sexuality that have argued that mapping our present understanding of sexual identity based on same-sex desire and physical acts of sex onto sexual identities in the past is reductive (Cook, 2014; Hall, 2016; Harris, 2010).

On Monday 30 May 1932, 28 year-old Elvira held a cocktail party at her home at 21 William Mews. When the party was over, Elvira and a few of the guests went on to dinner and dancing at a night club or two. This was a regular scenario and, as usual, Elvira returned home after midnight with Michael (also known as William) Scott Stephen, a man of similar age and social background to her. Within a few hours Michael was dead and Elvira devastated. The resulting trial at the Old Bailey (or Central Criminal Court) came to be known as a cause célèbre due to the social status of the defendant and the incredible case constructed by the defence. This, and the sensational coverage by the press, led to Elvira's name being associated with other high-profile twenty-somethings from wealthy families who similarly enjoyed parties, music, clothes, alcohol, dancing and driving in the 1920s and 30s, known as Bright Young People. In his book of that name, D. J. Taylor argued that Elvira 'was not, and never had been, a Bright Young Person' in the sense that it was a group of specific people, but that 'the distinction was not one which the average newspaper reader would have been capable of making' (Taylor, 2008, p. 226). The press themselves were not able to make such a distinction either, and Taylor suggests that their coverage of Elvira's case was responsible for turning the tide of public feeling, which was already ripe for change, against the Bright Young People and anyone like them. As he quotes from contemporary magazine *The Bystander*, Elvira and her friends were unlikely to enjoy public sympathy or admiration 'when such ill-bred extravagance was flaunted, as hungry men were marching to London to get work' (citation not given, quoted in Taylor, p. 226).

The glamorous micro-world of the Bright Young Things in otherwise austere times has been of interest to other researchers, but few have capitalised on Elvira's dramatic story specifically. An exception is the blog by independent researcher Maurice Bottomley, who has described Elvira's case and related topics by exploring literature surrounding her and the case (Bottomley, 2012). Summaries of the case have featured in books exploring the legal and judicial aspects of this and other cases, placing its significance within the bounds of English legal history (Browne and Tullett, 1951; Hastings, 1963; Cotes, 1976). No analysis of the case has been made by any academic, and nothing has been published about Elvira's home, or the spaces she inhabited.

William Mews was a cobbled backstreet cul-de-sac of terraced buildings off Lowndes Square in Knightsbridge '...which mostly consist[s] of rooms over garages they being occupied by chauffeurs and their families' (MEPO 3/1673: Police report, 1932). Like many other mews in fashionable Knightsbridge, in other areas of London and in other UK cities and towns, this was a narrow, quiet street hidden behind much larger, grander buildings, inhabited by wealthy families or individuals of status and their retinue of servants and staff. The mews houses in Knightsbridge consisted of two or three small rooms above a large garage at the rear of the main house, with living quarters for the men who looked after and drove the car when their employer needed it. The buildings on the west side of William Mews, for example, backed directly onto the rears of the properties in Lowndes Square, and in nearby Belgrave Square a similar mews also allowed back-door access to the main houses. In the interwar peri-

od, mews were enclaves of respectable working-class lives of people living 'in service' and their families. Though chauffeurs and mechanics and their families were above 'live-in' servants in the service hierarchy, it being considered a skilled role and allowing workers to live with their families in a relatively private dwelling, mews were still very much in the shadow of the big houses of the employers.

The larger houses, by contrast, such as that inhabited by Elvira's parents, where she herself had lived previously, were much larger and more luxurious. Sir John and Lady Mullens lived at the centre of one of the four sides of Belgrave Square in a four-storey building with no less than 36 rooms. The 1911 census of twenty years earlier gives clues to the scale of the dwelling; it had at that time housed a family of five and their 16 live-in servants, including a butler, French chef and three footmen (1911 Census: RG14/388/102). Youngest daughter Avril Mullens was married to Russian Prince George Imeritinsky, and elder daughter Elvira had been a debutante (Daily Mirror, 29 October 1925; 21 April 1923). The Mullens' neighbours included King George V's fourth son, Prince George, and his wife (the Duke and Duchess of Kent) on the end of the terrace in a building that was slightly smaller than the Mullens' but still enjoyed seven bathrooms, 'central and electric heating', a passenger lift, morning room, dining room, front and back drawing rooms and at least twelve bedrooms. The lease on that property included 'a roomy garage and chauffeur's flat adjoining the back of the house' and it is likely that neighbouring houses did also (Daily Mirror, 19 November 1934, p. 2).

Newspapers described Lady Mullens herself as demonstrating 'her good taste in decoration, which is shown in a lapis lazuli drawing-room with amber coloured curtains and leaf green carpet at her Belgrave Square house' (Daily Mirror, 29 April 1926, p. 9). These descriptions show the kind of homes and surroundings members of the Mullens family and their neighbours and friends in Belgravia and Knightsbridge were accustomed to. Yet in contrast, in 1932, Elvira (now married and separated from her American nightclub musician husband John Barney) was living in the cobbled backstreet a few hundred yards away at 21 William Mews, the sort of dwelling usually reserved for Mullens' employees and cars. However, this was not an ordinary mews house. Police described it thus: 'The address, 21 Williams Mews, is a different class of house to the majority of premises in the Mews... [It] is a converted stable consisting of two floors. On the ground floor, on the left upon entering, is a small scullery, and opposite the entry door is a door leading to a room fixed up as a lounge, and fitted with a bijou cocktail bar in the left corner... the place is prodigally furnished' (MEPO 3/1673, Police Report, 1932).

This statement betrays Elvira Barney's lifestyle in her mews house. She held frequent cocktail parties and had noisy arguments with friends in the street late at night and early in the morning, much to the chagrin of her neighbours. 'It became known to police that many disturbances had occurred at No. 21, and that numerous complaints had been made with reference to the conduct of the person living there, and of the people who visited' (MEPO 3/1673, Police Report, 1932).

Some of the complaints were received from Elvira herself, who seemed to the police to be drunk and melodramatic, unable to control her guests and their behaviour at her house. Police notes going back months were collated after she was arrested:

'3 March 1932 2am went to 21 Williams [sic] Mews - Mrs Barney alleged a man had assaulted her and her window had been smashed in the struggle.'

'15 April 1932 about midnight went to 21 Williams Mews... [a male guest refused to leave Mrs Barney's house. Police asked him to leave but before he would do so he made her promise not to carry out the

threats she had been making to commit suicide. Police evidently thought there was no cause for concern and left as soon as the man did.]]'

'17 February 1932 10.30am Mr Everton of 11 Williams Mews approached PC Richard Hastings Francis on duty and complained "bitterly" of visitors to number 21 being drunk, shouting and quarrelling, "it was impossible for anyone living near, to sleep", he said.'

'17 February 1932 4am a taxi driver fetched [a police officer] to 21 Williams Mews where Mrs Barney could not make her drunk guests leave her house. She had called them a taxi but they refused to leave' (MEPO 3/1673: Police statements).

Elvira's cocktail parties usually consisted of 'cocktails, drinks and dancing to the gramophone' (MEPO 3/1673: Statement of Sylvia Coke). Witness Hugh Wade described what would be Elvira's last party at William Mews: 'there were cocktails, caviare sandwiches, and the guests were standing about talking. They all seemed happy and voted the party a success' (MEPO 3/1673: Hugh Armigel Wade). The next morning police found the evidence of the previous night's party:

'On the counter of the cocktail bar was a bottle containing a small quantity of whiskey, two empty tumblers, one empty soda syphon, whilst underneath the counter was an empty whiskey bottle, a bottle part full of port wine, a bottle of red wine and four bottles of beer. On a table in the scullery there were thirty used glasses of various sizes, four empty soda syphons and a cocktail shaker. Underneath the sink in the scullery were two empty vermouth bottles and three empty gin bottles' (MEPO 3/1673: Police Report).

Other than the evidence of the party, the scullery apparently contained very little. No photographs of the ground floor rooms are extant in any of the several files for the case, but plans and descriptions show a conspicuous absence of furniture and detail in the scullery, compared to other rooms in the house. This, and the absence of a dining table in the other rooms, supports the view of Elvira as a rich, carefree party girl who dined out every night. On the other hand, this depiction of Elvira's party lifestyle suited the aims of those constructing the evidence that supported it. Later on the night of her last party at William Mews, prosecutors for the crown alleged, Elvira shot her lover Michael Scott Stephen at close range and he died in the doorway of her bedroom. From that night, William Mews would never be home to Elvira again. Any privacy she had previously enjoyed was destroyed, her name and that of her parents thrust into newspapers, and local, national, even international interest endured, in part because of their connections with British and Russian royalty. Worse still, if the Crown's narrative were accepted and she were found guilty of the charge against her, Elvira could be hanged for murder.

Elvira would not receive the empathy of the jury at the Central Criminal Court as an apparently morally dubious, wealthy and noisy socialite who spent her time partying, spending her father's money and disturbing her hardworking neighbours. It also helped the Crown case for her home to be seen to be 'prodigally furnished', as police described, or as 'extravagant', a word which bore added significance in what were, for many, austere times and featured in the opening speech by Sir Percival Clarke for the Crown (Daily Mirror, 5 July 1932). The sitting-room, and especially the cocktail bar, was repeatedly highlighted as a symbol of Elvira's extravagance and lifestyle, by police, prosecution counsel and in the press, although there was debate at the time about whether the house could be considered 'extravagantly furnished', given that 'at least one room was not furnished at all' (Browne and Tullett, 1951). The biographers of Bernard Spilsbury, the pathologist in the case whose evidence was largely ignored, argued twenty years later that given her social status, Elvira 'would inevitably have been described as beautiful had she been the reverse, just as everything about her little two-floored dwelling was called

luxurious'(Browne and Tullett, 1951). However, the few contemporary arguments against Elvira's home as luxurious come from people in a similar social and economic position to her own, who lived in houses like her parents' at Belgrave Square. To them, 21 William Mews was a small and modestly furnished house by comparison to their own. To the neighbours, press, police and public, on the other hand, this was the type of home they knew externally – a small, terraced, two-storey building rather than a grand thirty-something-roomed architectural spectacle – but one which on the inside was furnished extravagantly, wastefully.

Journalist MacDonald Hastings described in the 1950s:

'Even the police, when they saw the place, were as shocked as it's possible for policemen to be. Over the cocktail bar in the corner of the sitting-room was a wall painting which would have been a sensation in a brothel in Pompeii. The library was furnished with publications that could never have passed through His Majesty's Customs. The place was equipped with the impediments of fetishism and perversion' (Hastings, 1963).

Hastings does not cite his sources. No reference to the wall painting has been found, in the case files or elsewhere and, unfortunately, no photographs of the ground floor interior were taken as evidence in the case. Plans and a description show that the sitting room ran the full length of the ground floor of the property, covering more than 180 square feet. Whether this much floor space would justify a description of the party of 26-30 party-goers as 'crammed into the little house' is as subjective as views of its furnishings. Other than the cocktail bar, the room was comfortably furnished with a large corner settee, armchair and two further chairs, two end-tables, a radiogram and bureau. The furniture was placed around the walls, facing into the open space in the middle of the room, which allowed the maximum space for dancing (CRIM 1/610, 1932).

Photographs, plans and much richer descriptions were recorded for the upstairs of the property, where the bedroom was furnished in a contemporary style. Compared to similar-sized homes of the same time, this was indeed luxuriously furnished. Furniture and soft furnishings were brand new, fashionable and coordinated. Police gave rich descriptions but failed to comment on the fact that the patterned silk curtains covering the entire west wall of the room matched exactly the wallpaper on the opposite wall:

The bedroom furniture consisted of a double full sized divan bed, over the head of which was an extension from the telephone downstairs in the lounge... Looking towards the window from the head of the bed and to the left of the bed was a chair on which was the cushion the revolver is alleged to have been hidden under. At the foot of the bed was a dressing table on which was some spilled face powder and an empty wine glass. Under the dressing table, on the carpet, there was a large quantity of face powder. Opposite the dressing table there was a chair and in the seat of the chair there was also face powder. A fixed wardrobe extended from the dressing table to the window and on the opposite side of the bedroom by the door was another fixed wardrobe with a kind of shelf outside it, on which rested a number of papers and periodicals. Over this shelf there was a mark on the wall where a bullet had struck and at the side of the wardrobe itself there was a hole caused by the ricochet of the bullet. Plaster from the wall had fallen and a very small quantity was resting on the top newspaper, which was a copy of the *Daily Sketch* of the 30th May, 1932. Some of the plaster had fallen on to a copy of *Britannia and Eve* of January 1931 and some pieces of plaster and paper was on a copy of the

Daily Sketch dated 16th May, 1932, still lower down the pile. In front of the window was a chair in which there were two rag dolls... (Police Report, 1932)

Apart from the periodicals described, the room was full of reading material, including more than fifty magazines and newspapers, such as *The Daily Express*, *The Stage*, *National Graphic*, *Cosmopolitan*, *London Life*, *Tatler*, *The Picture Budget*, *Vanity Fair*, theatre programmes, and a book called *This Delicate Creature*, published in 1928. The covers of some of the editions make suggestions about Elvira's possible self-identity, or certainly her aspirations. The magazines were colourful and modern and content commented on culture, leisure and style. (Bottomley, 2012) There were no house or home magazines; Elvira's understanding of herself does not seem to have been related to the home, to domesticity or family life. It is impossible to know to what extent Elvira's lifestyle resembled the magazines she consumed and, as Houlbrook has argued in the case of Edith Thompson in the 1920s, it is dangerous to claim strong links between reading and a sense of self identification, although Edith's extensive written commentaries on what she read help Houlbrook make conclusions about the way her reading influenced her and allowed her to escape from everyday life (Houlbrook, 2010). What we can say about Elvira is that she read magazines that featured young, mobile, glamorous, active, affluent and cultured party-goers enjoying driving, sports, dancing, films and theatre, and the case files and contemporary newspaper reports, including comments from her friends, describe these as among Elvira's interests. Her hobbies and her lifestyle were facilitated by her money and the privacy it purchased her in her mews home.

Whether or not Elvira did identify with the media she consumed, it certainly appeared that she spent a lot of time reading and, more specifically, reading in her bedroom. She also read letters in bed, including two from Michael found in her flat and read out in court. One letter indicates that he wanted her to find it in her bedroom and read it when he was not there. Handwritten on her pale blue headed notepaper, the pre-printed address ('21 Williams [sic] Mews // Lowndes Square, S.W.1. // Sloane 6869') is crossed out and 'Love Hut' handwritten in its place. He wrote the letter downstairs in the living room, perhaps at the small writing desk, when she was in the house. At one point he smudges the ink because she came downstairs and he had to hide it under his coat, according to the letter. 'Baby, little Fatable,' he writes, 'This little note is to be awaiting your arrival in the place in which I've been happiest of all my life' (CRIM 1/610: Exhibit 8). That he meant the bedroom is clear from her reply. It seems that she found the letter before he had intended, but she reassures him in her response: 'I will read your letter dozens [underlined] of times when I'm in bed tonight' (CRIM 1/610: Exhibit 8). Elvira's bedroom was the part of the house where she spent the most time and enjoyed the most privacy, and the letters and witness statements intimate that Elvira also enjoyed an active sex life there. Such evidence contributed to the case for the prosecution, who needed to draw the attention of the jury to what contemporary society deemed her indecent behaviour, particularly as a married woman and the daughter of a knight with links to royalty. If the jury could be convinced that Michael Stephen's death had been caused by sexual jealousy rather than being an accident, as her defence counsel argued, Elvira could be convicted of murder (Lustgarten, 1951).

Elvira and her sister Avril were both separated from their husbands, but Princess Imeretinsky, as Avril was styled, had gone back to live with her parents at Belgrave Square (*Daily Mirror*, 15 November 1932). With 36 rooms, there was plenty of space for Elvira too, and it was only a few hundred yards away - so why did she not do the same? One reason might be the sexual freedom that a quiet back-street mews house away from her parents, their peers, and the newspaper gossip column writers, would permit. Certain standards of behaviour were expected of members of the 'Smart Set' although it has been argued that Elvira and her lover were on the fringes rather than at the centre of stylish London life (Taylor, 2008; Browne and Tullett), and so she could entertain her lovers and friends away

from the public gaze. The relative privacy of 21 William Mews was broken, however, when Michael's death brought Elvira's home, relationships and routines out into the open for scrutiny by police, court, newspapers and public. (For just some of the many press photographs taken of the building, see Getty Images: <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/73332132> ; <http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/license/78970205>).

To be able to enjoy an active sex life was certainly one reason to live in a quiet backstreet, but neighbours still saw and heard what they interpreted as Elvira's morally loose behaviour. According to Dorothy Hall, a chauffeur's wife who lived at number ten, directly opposite Elvira's house, Mrs Barney 'had a man' prior to Michael 'who I should think lived with her there. He used to go in with her late at night and would be seen again there early the following morning. He was with her up to the latter part of last year, when he stopped coming. Shortly after, quite a few weeks, a man to whom she spoke as 'Michael' went and lived with her. Until a fortnight ago he was there every night' (MEPO 3/1673: Statement of Dorothy Hall).

Mrs Hall recalled several incidents in which she had been woken by the noise from across the mews. Dramatic exchanges frequently took place between Mrs Barney and Mr Stephen, she said, during which Elvira was usually screaming from the open upstairs window wearing very little or nothing at all, and Michael was stood in the mews below. Several other neighbours saw and heard similar goings-on and complained to police. One night after Elvira kicked him out, Michael slept in an open car in the mews, much to the disgust of the neighbours (MEPO 3/1673: Statements of Dorothy Hall, William Kiff, and Kate Stevens). However, we cannot know if their observances were usual or not. Did they see and hear everything that went on in the mews, or was it just that Elvira was particularly noisy? Were they shocked by her behaviour as a woman of the same social status as their employers? There are no testimonies from neighbours describing that they had ever visited Elvira or been inside the house. It seems none of them were ever invited to any of the cocktail parties. Her relative social position to Mr Stephen did not prevent Mrs Hall the chauffeur's wife from telling the former to 'clear off' as he was 'a perfect nuisance' (MEPO 3/1673: Statement of Dorothy Hall). Despite his apologies on this occasion, the picture that is revealed is of Mrs Barney as a noisy party girl and an inconsiderate neighbour, with drunken friends to match. Given that this was a quiet, cobbled backstreet mews where the small stable-houses were overshadowed by the backs of the big houses of the inhabitants' employers, Elvira and her noisy friends – the same sort of people they worked for - may very likely have seemed like intruders. Witness statements by neighbours do not speak of harmonious relationships with the resident of number 21; they seem to have observed her with irritation. Elvira did not say anything about her neighbours, but on the other hand her statement did not call upon her to do so. Elvira's home spilled out into the street and the sounds of her domestic life came in through the walls of her neighbours' dwellings. But this was a one-way relationship (CRIM 1/610; MEPO 3/1673).

Five photographs were presented in court as part of Exhibit 3, the majority focusing not on the landing where Michael died but on the extravagantly-furnished bedroom. The below image of the mews, with Elvira's house on the right of the picture, depicts a view of the quiet back street. The photograph allowed the court and jury to imagine the disruption caused by the dramatic events witnesses testified to; the late-night parties and guests drunkenly falling out of the door and into taxis, Elvira shouting at them to leave, the shouting matches between Elvira and Michael in the wee hours of the morning from the bedroom window to the street outside, and the gunshots echoing around the mews. In the far distance of the photograph the much taller, grander houses that surrounded each side of the small mews stables can be seen.



Fig. 1: CRIM 1/610: Exhibit 3: Book of photographs 'Taken on Tuesday 31st May and Wednesday 8th June, 1932 by Alfred Madden, New Scotland Yard' [1 of 5].

Mrs Hall lived opposite number 21, and, despite her observances, Elvira was keen to stress that she lived alone, that she and Michael were just 'great friends', and she downplayed their intimacy by stating 'he used to come and see me from time to time' and 'see me home' (CRIM 1/610: Exhibit 10: Statement of accused). During her trial at the CCC she replied in the affirmative to questions about Michael's reliance upon her financially, admitted that she was 'his mistress' (although she was, in fact, the married party), and said that yes, she had tried to keep details of her lifestyle and relationships out of her statement because she was 'anxious to keep her mode of life from her parents' (Daily Mirror, 6 July 1932). Potentially, they had more to lose than she did if her lifestyle were revealed in public, and so perhaps it suited them as well as her to have her living away from their home given her rather public behaviour in the mews. On the other hand, she may have lived at the 'Love Hut' to entirely keep her mode of life from her parents, and although she was separated and was clearly a 'party girl', they may have assumed that she did not have lovers in the mews. While she was keen to hide her mode of life from her parents, Elvira clearly did not care what the neighbours thought of her. Rather than being bounded by the walls of her mews home, Elvira's social space extended out into the street she lived in. While she was protected by the privacy of the mews, her domestic life was not private from her neighbours.

Elvira had no choice but to admit to her sexual relationship with Michael. His parents and brother, whose wealth and social status were similar to those of the Mullens family, although they lacked a title, believed Michael was letting a suite of rooms at Brompton Road, but they were not supporting him

financially since he argued with his mother (MEPO 3/1673: Statement of Francis Richard Stephen). This was considered suitable as a temporary address for a single young man when he was in town, away from his family who lived in the country. Brompton Road itself was a very suitable address, being less than half a mile from Elvira's house and only 500 feet from Harrods. Investigations at Michael's rooms were conspicuous to police because there were no night clothes or underwear there. They doubted whether he lived there at all:

'On 1st June 1932, I went to 178 Brompton Road, and searched a bedroom which had been occupied by the deceased man, Michael Scott Stephen. In that room I found a photograph of Mrs Elvira Dolores Barney, one dress suit, one white dress waistcoat, one blue cloth waistcoat, light grey waistcoat and pair of trousers, one blue lounge suit, one pair grey flannel trousers, one mackintosh, three pairs of shoes, one pair of slippers, one dressing gown, two tennis shirts, one dress shirt, one or two day shirts, some ties, socks and handkerchiefs. There were no hats, night attire or underclothing' (MEPO 3/1673: Statement of DS John Sourr).

'I can't say whether or not Stephen and Mrs Barney were living together,' answered Arthur Jeffress when questioned by police regarding his friend and her lover, 'but last night we all three had dinner together at the Café de Paris and Stephen told me he was residing at Brompton Road' (MEPO 3/1673: Statement of Arthur Filden Jeffress). Whether Michael was living at 21 William Mews or not did not seem to matter in the case, when all evidence seemed to highlight their sexual intimacy and the possibility of Elvira's jealousy and violent behaviour. Of the bedroom on the night of Michael Stephen's death, Detective Inspector William Winter said 'There was no sign of disorder or struggle there. The bed had the appearance of being slept in, and the bed linen was not unusually disarranged' (MEPO 3/1673: Statement of DI William Winter). Her doctor, the first on the scene, described how Elvira had been in her dressing gown when he arrived. 'She said that they were in bed together quarrelling,' he told police (MEPO 3/1673: Statement of Thomas Arnold Durrant). Elvira failed to mention that the couple had been to bed together but she did admit to 'a quarrel about a woman he was fond of', a 'Miss C' (MEPO 3/1673: Exhibit 10: Statement of accused).

References to another woman did little for Elvira's defence case. She further incriminated herself and demonstrated her capacity for uncontrollable violent outbursts and 'paroxysms of rage' by slapping a policeman across the face when he suggested she put on her warmer fur coat, rather than the one she kept upstairs in her house, because she might find it cold at the police station. 'I'll teach you to say you will take me to a police station' she shouted 'now you know who my mother is you'll be a little more careful in what you say and do to me!' (MEPO 3/1673: Statement of DI W. Winter). The suggestion by the press that she might receive preferential treatment by the criminal justice system due to her family's position was a major concern. Even behind the scenes people in authority were concerned about the 'nasty comparisons [that] are made [in the press and in private] as to what would have happened had the prisoner been a man or woman without any influence' (DPP 2/92: Letter marked 'personal' from Wilfred Dell, Registrar of the Mayor's and City of London Court, to E.H. Tindal Atkinson, Director of Public Prosecutions, 8th July 1932).

An anonymous postcard sent to the Director of Public Prosecutions suggests that the special home comforts Elvira enjoyed at 21 William Mews were replicated in the temporary home of her 'private cell' at Holloway Prison, where she was given 'telephone, powder-puffs and grand tea-gown etc.' (DPP 2/92: Postcard sent by 'An Observer' Brixton, unaddressed, dated 10 June 1932). Newspapers reported that Elvira's homely 'ordinary comforts' there included 'an iron bedstead with a flock mattress instead of the usual boarded bed and also a small table and a chair' (Daily Mirror, 31 August 1932). There was also a suggestion that Elvira kept a photograph of Tallulah Bankhead in her cell (Bottomley,

2012). This choice of celebrity photograph is interesting. It is possible that Elvira was friends with the actress, the two having perhaps been at some of the same parties and sharing mutual friends. Bankhead had a reputation for being very sexually active, often with members of her own gender, and for having a cocaine habit. It is possible that Elvira kept the photograph in her cell because she identified with the actress, for these reasons or others.

Elvira's sexuality and cocaine habit are confirmed by a letter hidden in one of the files related to the case. 'Hidden' because generally, where they do exist, these types of files record only procedural details related to questioning and arrests of defendant and witnesses. The letter represents an attempt to blackmail Elvira, though for her attention, and repayment of expenses, rather than for any great sum of money. It threatens to send a letter to her mother describing her past sexual behaviour and drug-taking, a copy of which is also in the file. The author, Barbara Graham, was very distressed and writes as Elvira's former lover who felt she had been thrown over for a partner Elvira preferred (MEPO 3/1673: 14B: letter from Barbara Graham to Elvira Barney (undated) with commentary by Met Police dated 5th September 1932). While her motivations for making such accusations might make the content more extreme, perhaps tending toward exaggeration, they also add weight to the argument that a major reason for Elvira inhabiting a mews house rather than her parents' home was to allow her greater sexual freedom. The privacy of a backstreet mews away from her parents would be particularly useful if that sexual freedom involved same-sex relationships as the letter describes, which could have generated even greater scandal than the sexual relationship she was already having with a man who was not her husband. More than that, though, if Elvira regularly used cocaine as the letter accuses, it may be necessary to reconsider the meaning of the 'face powder' police found all over the floor, dressing table and chair of her bedroom, and in her bathroom cabinet. While this may not have been cocaine, Elvira was more widely suspected of abusing the substance after Barbara Graham committed suicide and the note she left was printed in newspapers: 'Tom Chadbourne and Elvira Barney are responsible for this... please make [Sir John] Mullens pay the [hotel] account' (Daily Mirror, 31 August 1932). The Daily Mirror intimated at their interpretation that Elvira had been responsible for the dead woman's long-term drug problem which was the cause of her suicide. Equally possible is that it was Barbara's rejection in favour of Tom Chadbourne by Elvira that led her to name the pair in her suicide note. The additional context given by these documents shows the rich and varied details crime sources are able to offer. With only a basic reading of the trial transcript published in the Great Trials series (Cotes, 1976), it would be impossible to appreciate the extensive layering of evidence for Elvira's behaviour and her home life that contributed to her eventual acquittal. Furthermore, the approach to these sources used here demonstrates the complex provenance, meanings and interpretations of the evidence and the ways they could be manipulated to favour an outcome that benefitted such an influential family.

When the case was at an end, Elvira Barney never went back to her home at 21 William Mews, instead returning to her family home at Belgrave Square. She did not stay for more than a couple of weeks, and it seems she never set up a permanent home again. Within a month she was accused of being responsible for a car accident in Cannes where she was touring France with 'a male companion' (Tom Chadbourne) and had returned to her previous 'fast' lifestyle, as described in Barbara Graham's letter (Daily Mirror, 18 January 1935). On Christmas Day 1936 Elvira was found dead in her hotel room in Paris. It was speculated that drugs had a role in her early and sudden death, but whatever the cause, her wealthy family managed to limit exposure in the press. Their reputation was safe. Mullens continued his career as high-profile banker until his own early death the following year, and sister Avril went on to marry divorcé Ernest Aldrich Simpson (ex-husband of Wallis Simpson before she married Edward VIII). It is not known what happened to 21 William Mews after Elvira left, but today the original building has been demolished and replaced.

Of the murder case files I have examined, Elvira Barney's is typical in that it describes conflict (and not just on this occasion) in the bedroom as being related to arguments about sex and relationships. Elvira's bedroom was frequently a site of outpourings of emotion. They argued here about the other woman Elvira thought Michael was seeing, or about sex, and they usually did so in the early hours of the morning, after they had come home together from a party or nightclub. Their arguments poured out of the small mews house and on to the small street below, for all the neighbours to see and hear. In the living room and the street, Elvira's social life was laid bare. Her noisy parties were a source of conflict with neighbours, though they do not seem to have confronted her personally. She also argued with her friends on the ground floor and the street when they refused to leave after some of the parties. This is not typical of most working-class streets or domestic murders. Case files for the majority of twentieth century murders explored by this author show that low income and limited social capital resulted in small living spaces, multi-function rooms and overcrowding. These and other poor housing conditions meant specific challenges in everyday life, complicated by additional factors and inequalities such as gender, race, age, sexuality, disability and household structure.

Elvira's home was also unusual because it was so luxurious and was not used for cooking or preparing meals. In every case of murder in domestic space I have analysed, it is possible to argue that the home was evidentially extremely important, and not only because it was the place in which the crime occurred. Police, newspapers and counsel all looked for evidence in the home to discredit either the defendant or the victim, as well as to look for the cause of death, for the basis of a murder conviction over manslaughter, and evidence of the identity of the murderer. Elvira's home was no exception. Descriptions of it were used to paint her as wild and extravagant, and neighbours' observations of her behaviour at home used to highlight her indecent behaviour. However, her failure to meet the standards expected of her were not framed in terms of her housewifery or domestic skill. Women of her class were not expected to perform this type of domestic labour. In this way she is unusual amongst the cases I have analysed. Much more typical is the case of John Anderson (defendant) who was charged with the murder of his wife, Lilian, at their home in Prebend Street, Camden, two years after Michael Stephen's death at Elvira's home in Knightsbridge. Even as the victim, rather than the defendant, the extent to which Lilian Anderson's domestic roles and routines met expected standards were scrutinised. The home and behaviour in the home were significant in the case, in the same way, but to a lesser extent and for different reasons, than in Elvira Barney's case (CRIM 1/742).

The case of Elvira Barney shows that when it came to housing in London, higher capital could buy not only greater space but more sexual freedom and increased privacy, even if private and sexual life spilled out into the street. While Elvira's comings and goings and partners were observed by her neighbours, the respectable status of those 'in service' nearby ensured their discretion. They were not about to tell the newspaper gossip columnists about Elvira's late-night visitors and loud drug-fuelled parties. Even if they did, the rules of social hierarchy and newspaper censorship would prevent such tales from reaching print (Bingham, 2009).

Elvira Barney's case shows that, even in a home that was modest in size compared to what she could afford to live in, improved amenities, more modern design, newer furnishings, and more fashionable decorations could be purchased, but these were not the most influential factors on everyday life and experience at home. By pushing the boundaries of her home outside the walls of her house Elvira could take advantage of the additional space, attempt to wrestle control over who was allowed inside and when, and enjoy freedoms not normally associated with her class. It was her economic and social capital that allowed her to do this. The case of Michael Stephen's death illustrates that the boundaries between public and private and between the social worlds inside and outside the home space (in itself

not restricted to the walls and doors of the building) are not distinct, or fixed: rather, they are constantly being negotiated.

Postscript

'...he got up and dressed and was going to leave her. She said to him "You know what will happen if you leave me" and he went to the chair and took the revolver from under the cushion and said "Anyhow you will not do it with this"' (MEPO 3/1673: Statement of Thomas Arnold Durrant).

Elvira chased after Michael to get the gun back and they ended up on the landing at the top of the stairs. The gun went off during the struggle, delivering the fatal bullet wound to Michael's lung. This was the narrative settled on by judge and jury and Elvira was acquitted and released (CRIM 1/610, 1932).

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DOI: [10.20919/9780995786226/2](https://doi.org/10.20919/9780995786226/2)

3. Finding home on Twitter. By Eduard Campillo-Funollet

Introduction

The concept of *home* is present in everyday life in many different ways. Even from the limited point of view this personal experience provides, it is easy to find many different ways to think about *home*, what *home* is, and what *home* means. Therefore it is natural to ask how different concepts of *home* are used today.

In the digital age, a major space for communication is the Internet, and therefore an excellent framework to study how people are using a certain concept. The digital world has many characteristics that distinguishes it from other forms of communication, but it also has a significant advantage: it is easy to get huge amounts of data in a short time.

The context of the concept of *home* is of course related to a number of possible meanings; a basic example: during a baseball match, there is a high probability that one talks about the *home plate*, the final base that a player must touch to score. Despite the fact that the underlying meaning of the word *home* here is still "a place of origin", the actual use of the word is not linked to other concepts of home, such as the house where one lives.

Given the previous considerations, I will study how the concept of *home*, and in particular, the word *home* is used in one social network, Twitter. In contrast to other networks, all publications of Twitter users are publicly available to everyone and mainly in a text form. For these reasons, Twitter is an excellent source of data.

In performing this study, I have two different goals. First, as mentioned above, I aim to present some insight on what *home* means in the context of Twitter. In particular, I am interested in what can be learned about the meaning of the word *home* in the limited context of a tweet.

The second goal of this chapter is to showcase the tools that mathematics and data analysis provide for humanities and social sciences. The aim is not to perform in-depth analysis, but rather to demonstrate an approach, and elicit questions to experts in the field. Therefore, I have skipped technical details that do not have relevance in this context, but included elementary presentations of the techniques to provide a clearer idea of what I have done.

The data for the study was collected for a period of 24 hours, between May 30th and May 31st, 2017. The size of the sample is rather small - 250,000 tweets, reduced to about 120,000 after cleaning the data - and in particular it will capture transient phenomena related to events that happened on that particular date. There are two reasons to limit the size of the sample. Firstly, since the goals of the study are to demonstrate what can be done rather than find a new phenomenon, a small but still significant dataset is sufficient. Secondly, since this book was produced in a limited time frame; conse-

quently I planned a study that could be fully contained in that given time frame. The analysis was planned and prepared in advance, but the data collection and analysis were performed during the event at which this book was produced.

All the data collection and analysis was performed in Python. The tweets were collected using in-house code via the Twitter Streaming API (Twitter, 2017). The analysis used in-house implementations of some algorithms and the Natural Language Toolkit module (Bird, 2006). Figures were produced with the module *matplotlib* (Hunter, 2007) and *wordcloud*.

The chapter is organized as follows. After a brief description of Twitter as a social network, and how its characteristics impact this study, an explanation the analysis of the data as it unfolded follows. I begin with a preliminary exploration of the data, and then proceed to frequency analysis, a sentiment analysis and finally to the application of a word disambiguation algorithm. At each step, I explain my reasoning and observations, and how these lead to the next step.

Twitter: a micro blogging social network

Twitter is a popular social network, built on the concept of *micro blogging*. Users publish short texts, occasionally including other media. Each of these publications is called a *tweet*. The network was created in 2006, and grew quickly. Over three hundred million people worldwide are now active users of Twitter. On average, about 500 tweets are published every day (Twitter, 2017).

In comparison to other social networks, the main characteristic of Twitter is the limited length of the posts: a tweet is limited to a maximum of 140 characters. Originally, the limitation was imposed to allow tweets to be sent by SMS (Sarno, 2009), but it has since become a defining feature of Twitter. Media such as pictures and videos do not count towards the length limit, but any form of text, including hyperlinks, does.

Twitter encourages users to include keywords in their tweets using hashtags. A hashtag is simply a word - it may be several words written together, without spaces in between - with the character # at the beginning. A list of the most popular hashtags - the trending topics - is updated in real time, effectively inviting the users to use these hashtags in their publications.

In contrast with other social networks such as Facebook, all Twitter user profiles are public. Any internet user, whether a registered Twitter user or not, can read all the published tweets. A user must register to publish new tweets.

Twitter does not require any formal verification of identity to register. The user may remain anonymous if he or she wishes, or can use a pseudonym. Twitter provides a verification service that is used by important companies or public people, for example, celebrities and politicians. The vast majority of the accounts are not verified.

The data: tweets with the word *home*

My goal is to use established data analysis tools to identify and characterise the different concepts of *home* in Twitter. At this point, I have not assumed any knowledge on how the concept has been

used in Twitter. I started by analysing the language in the tweets containing the word *home*, either as a word in the text or as a hashtag.

Some tweets implicitly refer to *home* without actually using the word *home*. Finding these tweets is out of the scope of this study, but a characterisation of the tweets that explicitly use the concept *home* will inform any future study that targets implicit uses of the concept.

As mentioned, hashtags are often composed of more than one word, but written without spaces. For example, we can find tweets with hashtags like *#goinghome* or *#gohome*. I have chosen not to include these tweets as there are inherent limitations on the ways to filter them: I could use a handcrafted list of hashtags, but this would be subjective; I could find hashtags containing the characters *home*, but then I would find completely unrelated concepts, e.g *#homeopathy*. Therefore, I have chosen to limit myself to tweets that contain *home* as an isolated word, or as a hashtag (*#home*).

Since my approach is based on the use of the word *home*, all my data and conclusions are limited to English-speaking Twitter users. A similar approach could be used to analyse tweets in other languages, but it is out of the scope of this study.

The hashtags identify the keywords of the text. A tweet with the hashtag *#home* possibly has a stronger connection with the concept of *home* than a tweet that simply uses the word in the text. To incorporate this fact in the analysis, I studied both the full text and the set of hashtags of the tweets. Note that a tweet that contains the hashtag *#home* will always have the word *home* in the text, i.e. the hashtag is part of the text. The opposite is not true: a tweet can contain the word *home*, but not the hashtag *#home*.

I collected the data for the study over a period of 24 hours. Although the time frame was short, the number of tweets was significant (250,000). On the other hand, some features may be related to a current trend, for example, a trending topic or a live event, or may be related to the particular time, for example, day of the week or season.

Preliminary exploration

Before starting with the analysis, I did a preliminary exploration of the data. The goal was two-fold: firstly, I wanted to pick up any striking feature that might affect the later analysis; secondly, since most of my analysis was based on language features, I wanted to ensure that the captured tweets satisfied the basic characteristics of a language.

I began with a manual exploration of the data. I randomly selected a few tweets from the data and read them. The first observation was that I was still capturing tweets that were not related to the concept of *home*. This was due to what was probably the most extended use of the word *home* in the Internet: the homepage of a website, as many URLs contain the word *home*, for example, in the format *<domainname>.com/home/<page>.html*.

I removed the tweets that only contain the word *home* in a URL. It was straightforward to do so, since Twitter uses a URL-shortener to help users to comply with the 140 character limit. In the shortened URLs, the word *home* is never present. I therefore excluded tweets that did not contain the word *home* in the text after shortening the URLs, unless they explicitly had the hashtag *#home*.

Here are four random tweets from the dataset:

- *RT @JillDLawrence: .@CNN says Trump is home alone, stressed out, gaining weight, realizing job isn't good fit for him. <https://t.co/MGftsHH> (Lawrence, 2017)*
- *как вы оцениваете AVAST HOME (Avast Software, 2017)*
- *RT @sidebae: i'll marry the guy that makes me want to come home as much as my bed does. (Ya Girl, 2017)*
- *#RelianceJio Jio may launch home broadband plan at Rs 500/100GB in 100 cities via <https://t.co/Ga70xDb9A> (Singh, 2017)*

After removing the tweets with the word *home* only in an URL, I significantly reduced the tweets in languages other than English. Some did still remain but I chose to keep them in the dataset. If there was a significant use of the word *home* in a foreign language, it appeared in the subsequent analysis.

It is clear even from this very limited sample that the word *home* is often used in business-related tweets, such as advertisements. It is important to bear this in mind, since the concept of home in the context of an advertisement is most probably connected to home as the house where one lives, either as part of a product name, for example, home broadband, or in the advertisement text.

Some tweets also contain words that are not part of the actual text. The tag *RT* is included at the beginning of a *re-tweet* (a tweet from another user that is reproduced in another user's timeline). Therefore, this tag will have a high frequency, but is not relevant for my analysis. Similarly, words starting with the character *@* are mentions of other users.

To ensure that my sample of tweets were consistent with natural language, and therefore that I was able to apply standard tools to analyse it, I confirmed that the tweets follow Zipf's law.

Zipf's law is an empirical law on the statistics of a large sample of words. The law states that the frequency of any word is inversely proportional to its rank in the frequency table. Most natural languages satisfy Zipf's law, and in particular, Pak and Paroubek (2010) establishes that the tweets in general follow Zipf's law. Therefore, if the sample of tweets with the word *home* is large enough, and if these tweets are not essentially different from an average tweet, our sample would also satisfy Zipf's law (Manning, 1999).

To visualise if the sample satisfied Zipf's law, I plotted the rank versus the frequency in a logarithmic scale. The logarithm transforms the relation to a linear correlation, and therefore the data will follow an approximately straight line if it satisfies Zipf's law.

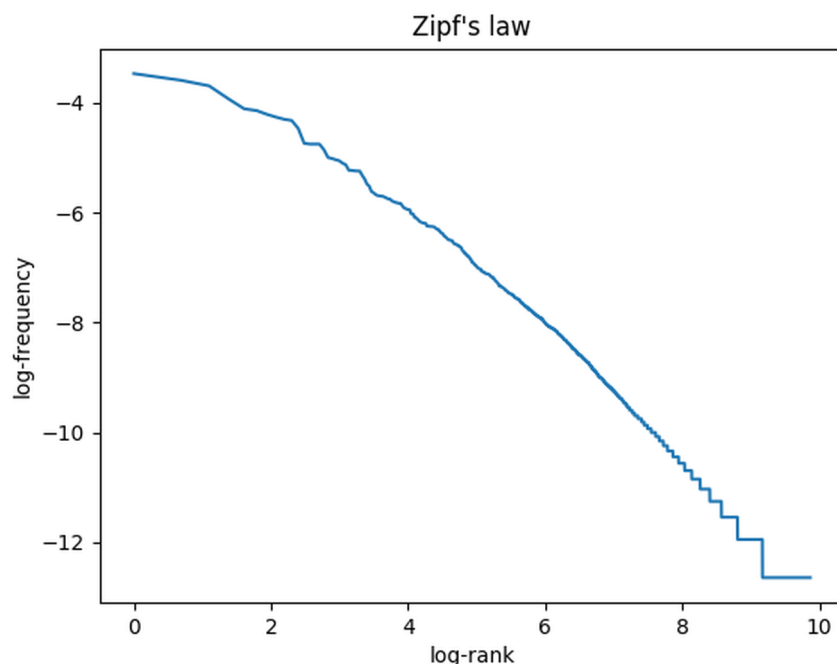


Fig. 2: A graph in log-log scale of the rank versus the frequency of the words in the data sample. Since the graph follows approximately a straight line, the data satisfies Zipf's law.

Because I selected tweets containing the word *home*, this word was over-represented in the sample, and I excluded it from the Zipf's law test. The rest of the words followed Zipf's law. I concluded that the language in the sample of tweets containing the word *home* was statistically natural, and so standard tools were suitable for the analysis.

Frequency analysis

The next step was to study the word frequency in detail. In particular, I used the frequency to get an initial idea of the *topics* in the tweets, but I was also interested to see if any word was present with a much higher frequency than others. The latter might already imply that the majority of tweets used *home* in the a similar way.

There were two facts to take into account before starting the frequency analysis. Firstly, I already knew that the word *home* has a high frequency: it is part of all the tweets in the sample. However, I did not exclude it from the analysis, because it might be relevant to see if there were any other words with a similar frequency.

The second consideration is usual in analysis of natural language texts. Most of the languages had words with very high frequencies that were not relevant in this kind of analysis, and if these words were not excluded, they could mask important features of the rest of the words. These words are called stopwords. Examples of stopwords are pronouns (I, you, he, she...), common verbal forms (have, has, is, are), or very common words (under, up, too...). I used a standard list of common words provid-

ed in the package *wordcloud*, and I also included the retweet tag *RT* as a stopword to exclude it from the analysis.

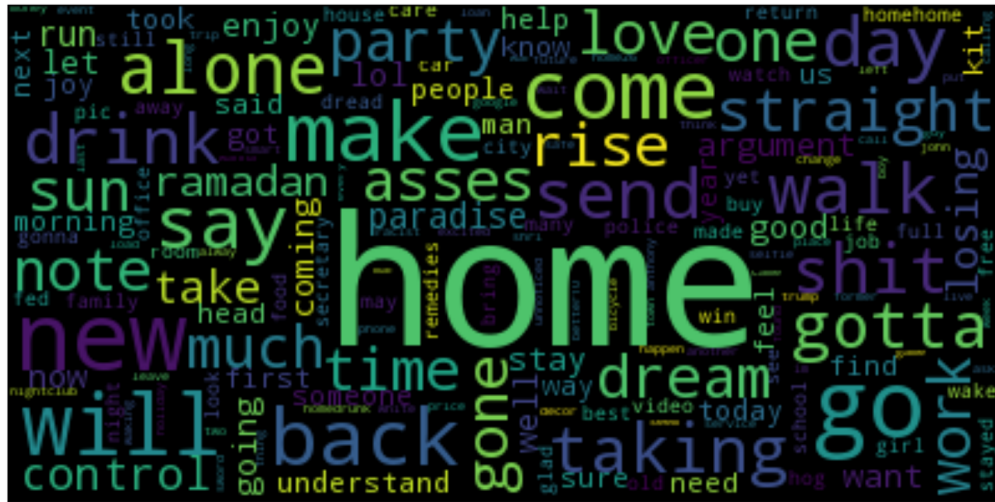


Fig. 3: A wordcloud of the most common words in the tweets that contain the word "home".

After the word *home*, the most common word in the tweets was *go*; this immediately suggested the frequent expression "go home", but at this point I did not have enough information to infer how it was used, and had to study the collocations of two words to get insight on this. Many other words in the word-cloud strongly suggested collocations, for instance "back home", "home alone" or "new home".

A few of the words in the word-cloud suggested routine actions and the contrast of home and work. For example, "morning", as well as words that are not included in the cloud such as "5:50", refer to the action of waking up. In both cases, *home* in this context was a reference to the physical place that one inhabits, the place where one sleeps. Other words related actions, for example, "drink", which are also possibly connected to same concept.

A final observation from the simple word-cloud was that most of the words had a positive or neutral connotation. For example, the words *party*, *love*, or *good* are usually associated with positive feelings. Only one clearly negative word was present in the forty most frequent words: *shit*. A sentiment analysis would provide more insight on this.

The same process was done for the hashtags, and the results differed. As expected, the words that were popular because of a current trend also had their own hashtag. The hashtags are the mechanism to find the tweets relevant for a user, and so if a topic is trending it will have its own hashtag.

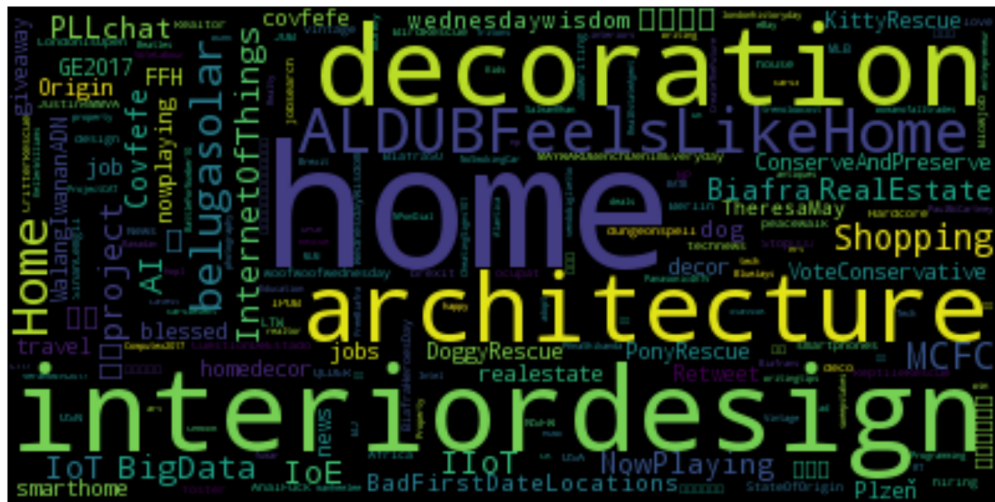


Fig. 4:

A word-cloud of the most common hashtags in the tweets with the word "home".

Since hashtags are promoted by Twitter to measure the *trending topics*, I expected some of the trending topics to appear in the sample too, even when the topic was not directly related to a particular concept of home. The best example of these was the hashtag #covfefe, a word used in a Tweet by the president of the United States, Donald Trump, on May 30th, 2017.

Words that I previously interpreted as coming from business users, like architecture, were more frequent as hashtags. Although this was not a confirmation that the actual tweet was business-related, it is consistent with the fact that a business carefully adds hashtags to its tweets to target potential customers. Another good example that did not arise in the first word-cloud, but was present here is #realestate.

The word "Biafra" deserves a special attention. The Republic of Biafra was a secessionist state in Nigeria, that existed for few years in the late 1960s. On May 31st, 2017, the leader of the Indigineous People of Biafra declared a *sit-at-home* protest. Hence, the tweets containing both the word Biafra and the expression *sit-at-home* were trending. Nevertheless, this is yet another use of the *home* a dwelling.

The hashtags provided a better insight into the theme of a tweet, and so I could extrapolate the context of the use of the word *home*. For instance, the hashtags #ponyrescue and #kittyrescue refer to animal rescues, usually finding a new home for an animal. Again, home is the dwelling, of an animal in this case.

I then considered all the bigrams. A bigram is a collocation of two words, i.e. two words that appear together in the text. The most frequent bigrams also contained the word *home*. Expressions like "go home", "back home" and "took home" were among the most frequent bigrams. In most of the cases,

these were expressions of movement, either of the individual or of an object, towards or away from home.

I found some of the words that were also in the first word cloud, such as *drink* or *party*.

In general, the sentiment expressions of the bigrams were still positive or neutral, with the exception of the bigrams containing *shit*. In any case, it was not possible to fully associate a positive or a negative feeling to expressions such as "shit taking" or "ain't shit" at this point.

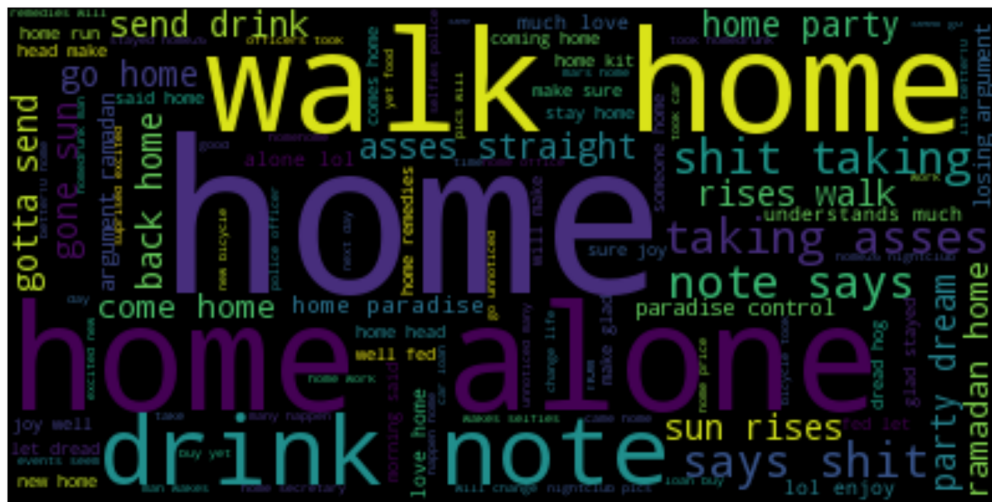


Fig. 5: A word-cloud of the most common bigrams in the tweets containing the word "home".

Sentiment analysis

Sentiment analysis is a popular tool to analyse the content of a text. The goal of sentiment analysis is to identify and classify the *sentiments* expressed in the text. In its simplest form, a sentiment analysis algorithm takes a text and outputs a value between 0 and 1 for positive, neutral, and negative sentiments. A value of 0 in one of the categories means that the type of sentiment is not present at all in the text. A value of 1 means that the text is clearly expressing the sentiment. Note that the category "neutral" includes all the cases that cannot be categorised as positive or negative: if it is not possible to say if a text is positive or negative, it will be classified as neutral. Furthermore, a text have an score for each category, for instance the tweet "I think I'll just go home after this, today is seriously tiring" (Qoni, 2017) has the scores positive 0.145, neutral 0.855, negative 0.0.

Nowadays, many popular sentiment analysis algorithms are based on supervised machine learning techniques. In machine learning, there is a training dataset with the correct categories assigned by some reliable method. In the case of sentiment analysis, the method could simply be classification by hand. The training dataset is then used to *train* the algorithm: the algorithm *learns* what kind of text

goes in each category. Once the algorithm is prepared, it uses the information from the training set to classify any new text.

Machine learning algorithms are powerful, but they have the drawback of requiring good training datasets. It was not clear how to obtain a training dataset for the tweets containing the word *home*. I could simply have used a training set based on all tweets, since many of such datasets are freely available, but the algorithm could become biased if the sentiments in the tweets containing the word *home* were expressed in a different way.

The alternative was to use rule-based algorithms. In a rule-based algorithm, a set of rules is used to obtain the final result. A rule is for example to assign points according to the presence of words from lexicons of positive and negative emotions, for example, love, nice or good for positive emotions; hurt, ugly or sad for negative emotions. The rule can be refined later, for instance with a second rule that updates the already positive or negative score if there are words like "very".

Rule-based algorithms are less specific than machine learning algorithms based on a good training set, but offer a more systematic classification. The fact that the algorithm user knows the rules that will be applied provides a deeper understanding of the final result.

To analyse the sentiments in the tweets containing the word *home*, I used VADER (Hutto and Gilbert, 2014), a rule-based algorithm that was designed specifically for social media text.

Firstly I looked at the average sentiment. I noted that already, in the frequency analysis, positive words were more abundant than negative ones. Furthermore, given that a tweet is a relatively short piece of text, most of the tweets would get a high neutral score. An average tweet scored over 0.8 in the neutral category. In other words, an average tweet cannot be clearly associated with a positive or negative feeling.

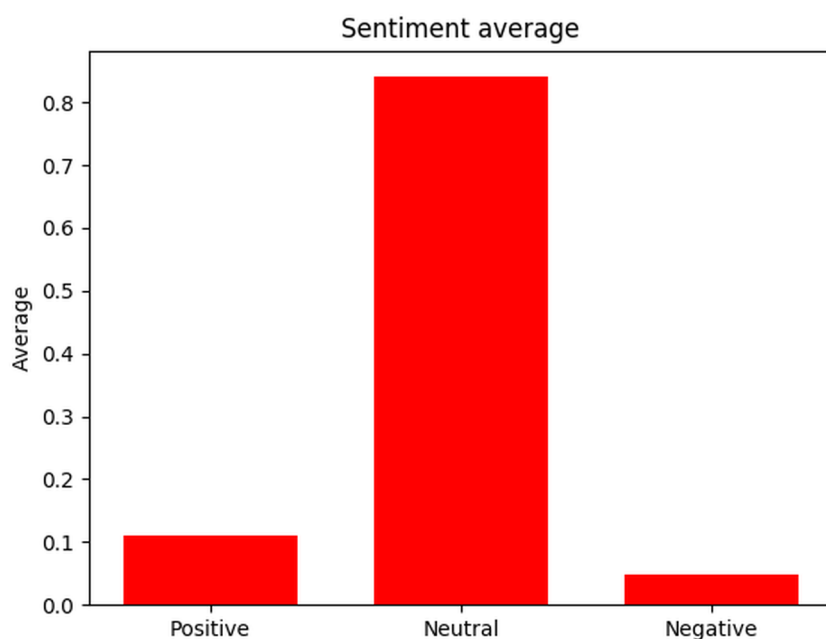


Fig. 6: The average sentiment score for the sample of tweets

The average score for positive was slightly over 0.1. This does not mean that there are not extremely positive tweets, but rather that given the high average of neutral scores, a typical tweet is mostly neutral with a pinch positive.

The negative score is an average about one half of the positive score. This confirmed the observation that I made from the frequency analysis: if I considered tweets that I could interpret clearly as positive or negative, I found many more positive texts than negative ones.

I then looked more closely at the sentiments. So far, I have discussed the average, but I could also look at what type of sentiment is predominant in each tweet. In other words, I would not look at the proportions between the three sentiments in each tweet, but rather, say, a tweet is for instance positive if the highest of the three scores - positive, neutral, negative - is the positive score.

I already knew that the neutral score is on average higher. Therefore, most of the tweets had a predominant neutral sentiment. More precisely, 99.2% of the tweets in the sample were essentially neutral. I studied the tweets with higher neutral score in detail, to see what concepts of home were used.

The tweet with the highest neutral score was "*[Help] Nfs crashes while pressing home on 10.1.1 jailbroken via /r/jailbreak <https://t.co/tzFF5SKqFW>*". This tweet refers to a problem with a computer game - Nfs is short for Need for Speed - that apparently stops working when the key *home* is pressed. This is a common meaning of *home* in the digital age: the "Home" key is found on most computer keyboards. Originally, the key was used to go to the top menu on non-graphical computer applications, the label "Home" in reference to the place where one begins. In modern computers the key is used to move the cursor to the beginning of a line or page. Although the reference to "Home" is not that clear - it is not natural to use "Home" to refer to the beginning of a line - the underlying concept is the same: move back to the place where one begins.

Other tweets with high neutral scores are questions. Unless the author is already looking to suggest an answer, a question is usually formulated in a neutral tone, and therefore there are not predominantly positive or negative words. I looked for instance at the tweet "*HOW HIRING HANDYMAN REDUCES HOME RENOVATION COST? <https://t.co/eHZHLnZxRO>*", which is essentially an advertisement of a home renovations company. Here *home* is used in the usual meaning of a physical house.

I then examined the negative tweets. The tweet with the highest negative score is "*Home alone* :)". *Home* refers again to the dwelling, this time accompanied with the word "alone", that is tagged as predominantly negative in the sentiment analysis. But what gives a high negative score to the tweet is the emoticon "):"—a sad face, written in reverse order.

The sentiment analysis model VADER takes into account the most popular emoticons - smiling :-), grinning :-D, sad :-(and crying :_(- to assign the scores to each emotion. It is worth noting that the implementation of VADER used for this analysis does not consider the emojis, one character representations of the emoticons and other objects, extremely popular on mobile phones. Including emojis in the analysis might change the results. For instance, the tweet "*my brother coming home today 🤗*", is the second tweet with the highest neutral score, but the grinning face emoji at the end suggests a positive sentiment.

The highest positive sentiment tweets are also short and characterised by an emoticon. For instance, I observed tweets like "*Home =)*" and "*Home :)*", with positive scores over 0.7. Another common reference

is to safety, e.g. "*Home safe*", "Thank God I made It Home Safe". I found again that home is used here to refer to the house that one inhabits.

In some positive sentiment tweets, I observed references to home that could be more subjective, but it is not possible to fully understand them in the context of a short text. For instance, the tweet "*Feeling like home*" is a reference to simply a place where one feels comfortable, safe. The author could be using the phrase to mean that he is in a very comfortable place, but could also be referring to some feeling that is reminiscent to his or her place of origin.

Word sense disambiguation

So far, I analysed the most frequent words in the tweets that contain the word home, and I used those words to infer the concepts of home that are in place in Twitter. I also performed a basic sentiment analysis of the tweets, to get an insight of the concepts of home used in tweets that clearly express a sentiment. In any case, this analysis is limited to the amount of tweets that I can study manually. My goal is to find if the concept of *home* is used with other meanings, but since the uses that I already mentioned are predominant, it is difficult to find these cases by simple observation.

To overcome the difficulty, I use a word sense disambiguation algorithm. Word sense disambiguation techniques are algorithmic tools used to infer the meaning of a word, among all possible meanings, given the context. Although these techniques are not completely reliable, they provide a systematic method to study the meaning of a word in a given text. A limitation of the use of these techniques in Twitter is tweets are short pieces: there is not much context to analyse. This must be taken into account when considering the conclusions of the analysis.

As in the case of sentiment analysis, there are machine learning methods for word sense disambiguation. These methods have the same drawbacks as previously mentioned for the sentiment analysis. Therefore, I use an algorithm based on the occurrence of words in the surroundings; essentially, the method based on statistics.

The algorithm is known as Lesk algorithm, and it was introduced in 1986. The idea behind the algorithm is to consider a series of definitions of a word, as they will be in a dictionary. If a word is used in the sense of a particular definition, one could probably find words of the definition near the word that we are analysing. In other words, given a text, the algorithm finds the definition that has more words in common with the text (Lesk, 1986).

The Lesk algorithm is obviously limited by the definitions. Very succinct definitions offer less possibilities to find words in common. Furthermore, the same meaning of a word can be defined using very different vocabulary, and the algorithm is very sensitive to the exact words used in the definition. Although I only used a basic implementation of Lesk, there are many ways to extend the algorithm and overcome these difficulties. For example, one can use thesauruses and synonyms dictionaries to avoid being sensitive to the exact wording of a definition.

For the definitions, I use the lexical database provided by Wordnet (Miller, 1995). The following list includes the seventeen definitions of home that I use for the analysis:

1. Where you live at a particular time.

2. Housing that someone is living in.
3. The country or state or city where you live.
4. (Baseball) base consisting of a rubber slab where the batter stands; it must be touched by a base runner in order to score.
5. The place where you are stationed and from which missions start and end.
6. Place where something began and flourished.
7. An environment offering affection and security.
8. A social unit living together.
9. An institution where people are cared for.
10. Provide with, or send to, a home.
11. Return home accurately from a long distance.
12. Used of your own ground.
13. Relating to or being where one lives or where one's roots are.
14. Inside the country.
15. At or to or in the direction of one's home or family.
16. On or to the point aimed at.
17. To the fullest extent; to the heart.

I apply the Lesk algorithm, using the previous set of definitions, then the sample of tweets containing the word *home*. The previous observations based on word frequency and sentiment analysis suggest that there are one or two very predominant concepts, so I expect the algorithm to find that a few of the definitions are more frequent.

According to the Lesk algorithm 40% of the tweets use *home* in reference to definition 1, the place where one lives at a particular time. It is difficult to distinguish in a short text like a tweet if the exact reference is to the general area or to the house that one inhabits in particular. The algorithm naturally leans towards the more general definition, which in this case is definition 1 (in comparison to definition 2).

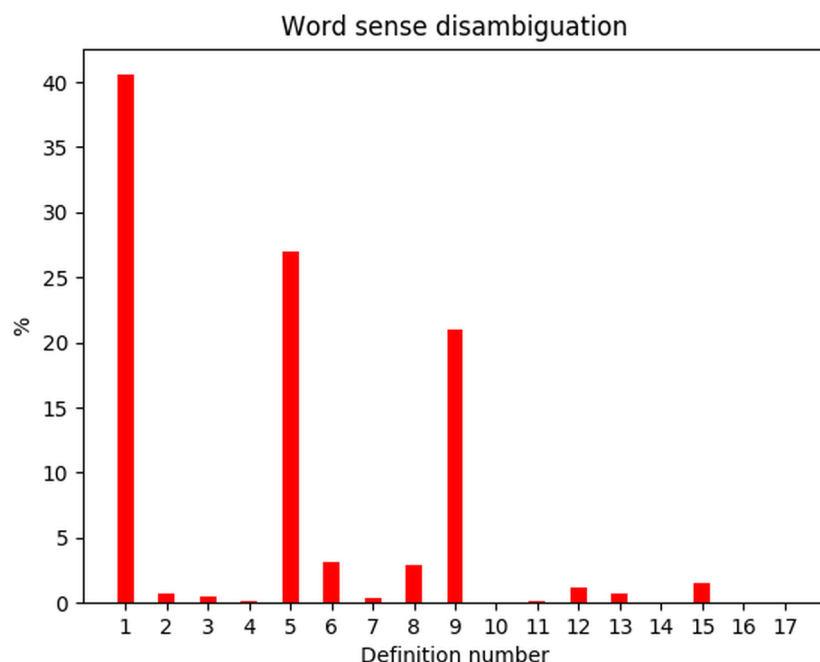


Fig. 7:

The proportion of tweets that are classified in each definition of *home* according to the Lesk algorithm.

Note that definition 5, the second most frequent definition according to the algorithm, is also connected to the concept of "the place that one inhabits". The main difference between definition 1 and definition 5 is a sense of temporality: the place where one is stationed is home until the one is moved to another destination. This temporality is hard to grasp from a short text like a tweet.

The third most common definition is definition 9. Although this refers to an institution where people are cared for, the underlying concept is also the place where an individual stays. This definition is tagged in many of the tweets from animal rescue centres, e.g. the tweets with the hashtags #kittyrescue or #ponyrescue, but the use of the word *home* there is actually closer to definition 2. A typical tweet is "Find a new home for Missy #kittyrescue", with a picture of a cat attached. Clearly, the reference to home is to a house that one is living in, or even a house for the animal to live in, but not the rescue centre as a home.

Overall, the top three definitions according to the Lesk algorithm are closely related and hard to distinguish in limited contexts. In contrast, they are clearly above other uses of the word *home*, for instance the algorithm did not find many references to the baseball *home*. The use of the word *home* in this context possibly increases during a baseball match.

Conclusion

The most common use of the word *home* on Twitter is related to the concepts of the house, or in general the place, where an individual lives. Although this is probably true in other contexts, when considering this conclusion it is important to keep in mind the public nature of Twitter. A published tweet is publicly available to any Internet user, and therefore an individual may not be sharing private ideas.

Even within the concept of *home* as a dwelling, some significant differences arise. The frequency analysis of the hashtags suggests that business-related Twitter accounts use the word *home* to publicise products and services, from decoration to architecture and construction. This suggests that to refine analysis, one should devise a methodology to distinguish business Twitter accounts from personal accounts.

The sentiment analysis suggests that on Twitter, the concept of home is more often connected to positive feelings than to negative feelings. Although the vast majority of tweets cannot be classified into strongly positive or negative, the number of strongly positive tweets is about three times the number of strongly negative tweets.

The word sense disambiguation algorithm confirms that the most common use of *home* on Twitter is in connection to the place where one lives. A finer distinction is difficult, given the limited context that a tweet provides. The conclusions can be improved by means of a more sophisticated word sense disambiguation algorithm, and also by using a more comprehensive datasets to include transient uses of the concept.

There are many possible ways to extend this study. I limited the data collection to words containing the word *home*, but a more comprehensive approach would include all the tweets with the character string *home*, even if it is part of longer word. During the data analysis, non-relevant uses of the words would have to be excluded.

Another natural extension will be to use the same approach in different languages, and in particular, to find the points in common on how the concept of home is used across different cultures. Even in the restricted context of Twitter, people from many different origins will have distinct ontologies on the concept of *home*.

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DOI: [10.20919/9780995786226/3](https://doi.org/10.20919/9780995786226/3)

4. Permanent liminality, legal community, and migration law. By Ketan Jha

Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial (Turner, 2011, p.95). This volume situates home as a constructed, multiscalar phenomenon. This chapter concerns itself with the concept of 'Home' in relation to migration law. Inherent in this linkage are notions of community, nation-states, movement, and time. Home might serve to invoke affirmative attachments of belonging over various spatio-temporal scales, but viewing the concept through this narrow lens ignores its function as a microcosm of society. A more fully illuminated vision of home must understand it equally as the site of coercion, detention, and domestic harms.

The juridical formation of 'home' is necessarily multiscalar. The law's place in demarcating geographical boundaries and enforcing the same through state police power cannot be understated. This chapter examines Home Office practice in administering and managing immigration detention centres, finding that the current regime is unstable, unfit for purpose, and serves to delegitimise vulnerable populations.

The practice of limitless detention in the United Kingdom relegates migrant populations and asylum seekers to a liminal space with no clear terminus – a paradoxical condition of permanent liminality. Liminality is here used in the same manner as Van Gennep's theory of rites of passage in anthropological literature. In essence, rites of passage govern moments of transition, whether from season to season, childhood to adulthood, or life to death. In any transition of social status, a pattern occurs in three stages: the [i] rites of separation from a previous world, preliminary rites, those executed during the [ii] transitional stage liminal (or threshold) rites, and the [iii] ceremonies of incorporation into the new world post-liminal rites. Gennep was concerned chiefly with the liminal or 'in-between' stage. When Gennep was translated into English by Victor Turner, liminality described a space where moments of passage foster 'humankindness' or community beyond tribal or national boundaries (Turner, 2011, p. 116). 'Humankindness' evokes Walzer's minimal definition of community, which consists of people 'with some special commitment to one another and some special sense of their common life'. This vision of community is arguably both romantic and myopic, redolent of Benedict Anderson's 'imagined community' where fellow members – who will never meet – are bound by 'a shared image of their communion.' Zygmunt Bauman sought to deconstruct this 'cosy and comfortable' vision of community. Bauman maintains that communities can constrict individuality and command loyalty. Like 'home', community is constituted as much by the imperative of internal security as freedom and belonging.

While liminal spaces are transitory and uncertain, legal scholarship often employs the metaphor of 'regulatory space' (Vibert, 2014) to describe the metaphysical environment bounded by law (Laurie, 2017). In this case, that transition sits between two putatively stable legal spaces: the space of the alien without citizenship rights and that of the full citizen. The liminality occurs where migrants are stuck in between (Bhabha, 1994, p.137), condemned to a legal limbo. However, before examining detention centres some discussion of the frames of citizenship is necessary.

A significant body of literature on citizenship and immigration is rooted in Georg Simmel's identification of the migrant as a stranger, physically present in a state but excluded from political community. This framework underpins an academic corpus rooted in a dichotomy between citizen-insider and immigrant-outsider. Much of the legal scholarship on citizenship and belonging builds on T.H. Marshall's iconic essay wherein citizenship's development into contemporary capitalist societies is divided into civil, political, and social instantiations, mapped onto the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries respectively. While Marshall's concern was chiefly with the connection of citizenship to a wider political economy, the nascent rights he describes are given life by the law. Thus citizenship is described as being 'internally inclusive' but 'externally exclusive' giving rise to 'a conceptually clear, legally consequential, and ideologically charged distinction between citizens and foreigners' (Brubaker, 1992, p.21). This dichotomy is problematised by the ebb and flow of legal rights for non-citizens. Peter Schuck argues that the entrenchment of universal human rights crystallised in American law through due process jurisprudence serves to emancipate migrants from legal alienation. However, the realities of detention and deportation without trial enabled by legal instruments such as the PATRIOT Act and the restriction of non-citizen access to public benefits in 1996 cast significant doubts on the efficacy of this thesis. In the UK, the administrative detention regime criticised in this chapter was founded in the first instance to offer due process protections. Instead of Brubaker's dichotomy, contemporary Anglo-American immigration law supports the idea of a 'membership continuum' of 'citizens, denizens, and helots' to model the varying rights of full citizens, legal residents, and migrants (Cohen, 1989). This chapter explores the idea of the migrant as a permanent 'liminal personae' for whom unstable and uncertain legal rights are complemented by unstable and uncertain physical existences.

Biopolitics and the State of Exception

Literature on detention centres and refugee camps often invokes Giorgio Agamben's concept of *homo sacer* or 'bare life'. Agamben draws on Carl Schmitt's conception of sovereignty as a function of exercising control over a 'state of exception', wherein the quotidian protections of law (e.g. human rights) are suspended in order to preserve the sovereign's exercise of control (Agamben, 1998, p.11). This state of exception is located in the penumbra of the legal status quo, a shadow that is distinct from, but necessarily contingent on, the existing juridical order. This inclusion creates a 'paradox of sovereignty' wherein the sovereign is 'at the same time, outside and inside the juridical order' (Agamben, 1998, p.15). In this conception of the state, human rights are mechanisms of state power rather than protections against them. As part of the state apparatus, human rights law reproduces 'the contradiction between undocumented migrant's physical and social presence and their official negation as "illegals"' (De Genova, 2002, p. 427). As Hannah Arendt states in the 5th chapter of *Origins of Totalitarianism*, 'it seems easier to deprive a completely innocent person of legality than someone that has committed a crime.' The general concept of the immigrant prison, particularly because it only interfaces with courts of law at the post-detainment stage, might be situated outside the normal territorial juridical order (Cornelisse, 2010, p.244). Only migrants, who are outside of the national political community, are subject to exceptional detention in these administrative prisons. In this way – instead of a citizen-insider and immigrant-outsider dichotomy – migrants are subject to what Agamben calls 'exclusionary inclusion.' (Agamben, 1998). Once in the carceral cradle of the state, these immigrant-outsiders are entirely subject to sovereign power despite being excluded from citizenship. Insofar as human rights regulate and produce the subjects of the state, they are bound up with Foucault's notion of biopolitics. For Foucault, one of sovereignty's classical functions is 'the right to take life and let live', has a corollary in the power to 'make live and let die' (Foucault, 2004). The discipline of individual bodies, facilitated by technologies of surveillance, constitutes 'governmentality.' The genesis of biopower

is located in the transition from the disciplining of individuals to the disciplining of the human race. 'Biopower is constituted by an array of supervisory and regulatory mechanisms that seek to manage and order life itself: it is the investment of natural, biological life with politics' (Hall, 2010). Metrics on population dynamics seen through political and economic lenses facilitate regulatory mechanisms that govern and regularise our species. The primary function of this power is putatively the preservation of life. It is at this point that one must ask which lives the state chooses to preserve – who is 'let to die?'

One of Agamben's premises is that the nation-state's existence relies on the nexus between birth and bounded geographies. The asylum-seeker, suspended perpetually between arrival and departure in different states, 'radically calls into question the fundamental categories of the nation-state' (Agamben, 1998, p.138). The sovereign decision here is of course not to be found in the monarchic diktats of old so much as modern bureaucratic decision-making (Butler, 2006). In the context of migration, that decision-making takes the form of executive action in the form of decisions to detain or deport individuals. When the Home Office sends non-citizens 'home' to their countries of origin, the territorial order of the nation-state is reproduced (Cornelisse 2010, p.246). The next section will examine executive actions in the context of immigration detention decisions for asylum-seekers and irregular migrants.

The 2014 immigration statistics indicate that about 3500 individuals are held in nine Immigration Removal Centres (IRCs) across the UK. These centres are operated both by HM Prison Service and private companies. Demographically, detained individuals tend to be adult men from former colonies such as India, Pakistan, Jamaica, and Nigeria. More than half of the IRC detainees in 2014 'sought asylum during their immigration processes'. Notably, the statutory basis for detention centres makes little mention of their real purpose. The 2001 Detention Centre Rules provide that:

'The purpose of detention centres shall be to provide for the secure but humane accommodation of detained persons in a relaxed regime with as much freedom of movement and association as possible, consistent with maintaining a safe and secure environment, and to encourage and assist detained persons to make the most productive use of their time, whilst respecting in particular their dignity and the right to individual expression.'

There is, perhaps unsurprisingly, a profound disjunction between this description and the lived experience of detainees. In theory, those detained are served with a 'warrant of detention' or IS91 form by an immigration officer. The warrant is to be issued in cases of imminent deportation and where the individual in question is a flight risk.

One important characteristic of the UK's approach to immigration detention is that this species of imprisonment is not legally punitive and thus does not carry the colour of the criminal law (hence the use of 'administrative detention' in this chapter). In the absence of formal 'criminality' interfacing with the top-down institutional realities of national immigration policy, the spaces where people are detained are replete with razor wire fences, guard dogs, marking imminent threat of state application of force (Bosworth and Guild, 2008). The optics of immigration removal centres highlight the inherent ambiguity and volatility of immigration policy in action: the ambiguity of an illusory and distant state on an institutional level (Abrams, 1988, 82) is concretised by micro-level enforcement actions against individuals (Foucault, 1991). In this way, the precarious legal and physical space where immigration detention occurs can be described as quasi-penal. These are permanently liminal spaces in several regards. Firstly, IRCs are ostensibly meant to temporarily house foreign nationals facing imminent deportation back to their home countries. In practice, migrants can reside in IRCs for months at a time. Equally, detention and deportation are fundamentally practices of administrative law, but deportation orders

are often attached to criminal sentences. As Bosworth recounts in her lengthy study of IRCs, 'the precise or desired relationship between immigration law and the criminal justice system remains enigmatic (Bosworth, 2014, p.16). Another dimension of liminality persists in terms of physical space: detainees can be transferred to prison facilities (Bosworth, 2014, p.13). IRCs are thus situated in an unstable enforcement apparatus and feature several layers of liminality.

UK policy regarding detention centres and immigration removal policy has served to trap exiles in a grey area. The legal authorities for policing borders and regulating entry are voluminous. Article 5(1)(f) of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), which allows for the detention of foreign nationals to prevent unlawful entry and for their removal in cases of unlawful presence. This authority is mediated by protections against torture in Article 3, the 1951 Refugee Convention, the Dublin Conventions, the Schengen Treaty, and swathes of domestic legislation passed under the head of asylum, immigration, or criminal law (fn: On such legislation and its implementation around the world, see Thomas 2011). The Dublin Convention of 1990 (Dublin I) attempted to lay down procedures for processing asylum seekers at their first point of entry in order to ensure accountability for member state governments as well as efficiency in processing incoming migrants. In 2008, the EU passed the Returns Directive, setting a maximum period for pre-deportation detention at 6 months, extendable to 18 months. The Directive sets out that the practice of administrative detention should be reserved for removing illegal immigrants. The United Kingdom, while playing a large part in advocating for minimum standards of care through an independent body tasked with monitoring protections for people in detention, has not signed up to the directive. As a result, there is no statutory upper time limit on detention in the UK. Expectedly, this has caused considerable opprobrium in national organisations campaigning for migrant's rights. Detention Action, for example, has repeatedly called for a one month upper limit, with which the Chief Inspector of Prisons agreed in 2015. The same year saw MPs in the All Party Parliamentary Group on Refugees & The All Party Parliamentary Group on Migration (APPG) convene a public hearing and publish a report recognising current enforcement issues. The report identifies substantial non-compliance with enforcement guidance from the Home Office. That guidance enumerates the principle that 'detention should be used sparingly and for the shortest possible time.' Both case law and the lived experience of detainees indicate that this principle is mere puffery.

An analysis of UK and ECtHR case law

Case law of the past two decades governing the reasonableness of lengthy administrative detention in both domestic courts and the European Court of Human Rights tends to reaffirm Agamben's apprehension of human rights law as legitimising state use of force rather than an emancipatory safeguard on migrant's rights. Two characteristics unify these disparate strands of jurisprudence: (i) general state adherence to administrative law procedures typically defeats claims based on the length of detention, and (ii) the reasonableness of detention (and the attendant duration) is almost always linked to the prospect of the claimant being 'returned home' or deported. This section will examine important samples from that case law and contrast them with enforcement realities. Finally, I assert that populations vulnerable to administrative detention are a partial instantiation of Agamben's *homo sacer* – their permanently liminal and rightless status means that virtually "no act committed against them could appear any longer as a crime" (Agamben, 1998, p.174.)

Ministerial pronouncements have acknowledged that detention practices must adhere to the ECHR, a

source of law which British politicians have often framed as a 'backstop' on English courts. However, in the context of immigration detention decisions, the European Court of Human Rights has not taken a radically activist role. Instead, landmark cases tend to feature procedural inadequacies as the justification for findings of unlawful detention.

Amuur v France concerned Somali asylum seekers who arrived at Paris-Orly Airport via Damascus. The applicants alleged that the overthrow of Siyad Barre's regime resulted in imminent danger to life on the grounds that a number of their family members had been murdered. French border officials determined their passports were falsified, refused admission, and subsequently detained the applicants in part of a converted hotel. The applicants were detained for three weeks. Article 5(1) protects individuals from the deprivation of liberty. 5(1)(f) contains a derogation from this standard in case of 'lawful arrest or detention of a person to prevent his effecting an unauthorised entry into the country or of a person against whom action is being taken with a view to deportation or extradition.' The court found a breach of Article 5(1) on the grounds that the French legal guidance relied on was imprecise in regards to the provision of 'legal, humanitarian, and social assistance' and lacked sufficient procedural granularity, rendering the detention unlawfully arbitrary. However, the court also distinguished between deprivation of liberty, most often identified with detainment in closed quarters, with restricted freedom of movement. As the applicants were staying in a converted hotel, they could not successfully allege deprivation of liberty.

Chahal v UK (1996) concerned a Sikh family. The primary applicant was an Indian citizen who was active in the Sikh separatist movement in the UK, organising protests against the Indian government. He had been detained for a non-continuous period of 6 years. In relation to his unlawful detention claim under Article 5, the court determined that the applicant's detainment was permissible in light of national security concerns since the relevant procedures had been followed 'with due diligence.'

In the English courts, judicial treatment of unlawful detention has been mixed in terms of outcome, but follows the same general trend of the ECtHR jurisprudence. In Detention Action's submission to the UN special rapporteur for human rights, the NGO found that 'the High Court ruled on 15 occasions that a detainee held for over a year with little prospect of removal was detained unlawfully' (Detention Action, p.7). However, domestic determinations of unlawfulness typically resulted from judicial findings that deportation was unlikely rather than from excessive duration.

Detained migrants can contest their confinement by bringing a claim under the common law tort of false imprisonment. In essence, the tort consists of the fact of imprisonment and the absence of lawful authority to justify the same. In any case of administrative detention, unlike streetside disputes, the fact of imprisonment is a premise, situating the focus of judicial examination on whether the Secretary of State can demonstrate authority for the imprisonment. The widest statutory authority for this detention is located in the Immigration Act 1971. Section 3(5) renders non-citizens liable to deportation if ministerial determination serves the public good or if an immediate family member has been or will imminently be deported. Paragraph 2 of Schedule 3 to the act provides in pertinent part that:

(2) Where notice has been given to a person in accordance with regulations under section 105 of the Nationality, Immigration, and Asylum Act 2002 (notice of decision) of a decision to make a deportation order against him, and he is not detained in pursuance of the sentence or order of a court, he may be detained under the authority of the Secretary of State pending the making of the deportation order.

(3) Where a deportation order is in force against any person, he may be detained under the authority of

the Secretary of State pending his removal or departure from the United Kingdom (and if already detained by virtue of sub-paragraph ... (2) above when the order is made, shall continue to be detained unless he is released on bail or the Secretary of State directs otherwise).

The Supreme Court's judgment in *Lumba v. Secretary of State for the Home Department* (2011) UKSC 12 reaffirms a set of substantive limitations on detention under Schedule 3 of the 1971 act. The so-called *Hardial Singh Principles* provide that

- i) the Secretary of State must intend to deport the person and can only use the power to detain for that purpose;
- (ii) the individual may only be detained for a period that is reasonable in all the circumstances;
- (iii) if, before the expiry of the reasonable period, it becomes apparent that the Secretary of State will not be able to effect deportation within a reasonable period, he should not seek to exercise the power of detention; and
- (iv) the Secretary of State should act with reasonable diligence and expedition to effect removal.

The phrase 'a period that is reasonable all the circumstances' in (ii) does not refer to a static list of criteria but includes the diligence of the secretary of state in effecting a deportation and the length of the detention, the effect of the detention on the detained person, and the risk of absconding or engaging in criminal activity upon release. Principle (iii) relates back to the central argument of this section; whether the duration of detention is excessive is largely determined by the likelihood of deportation.

Sino (2011) concerned an Algerian man subject to a deportation order who sought declaratory relief (i.e. that his detainment was unlawful) and damages for false imprisonment and breach of his Article 5 rights. At the commencement of the judicial review proceedings, his detention had lasted for 4 years and 11 months. The Secretary of State unsuccessfully attempted to obtain an emergency travel document from the Algerian government to enable the claimant's deportation. During the course of the proceedings, witness statements from civil servants and the Secretary of State were found to be rife with inaccuracies and contradictions in respect to these attempts to attain an emergency travel document. Inconsistent witness statements in regards to whether or not the claimant could be deported to Algeria resulted in a ruling of unlawful detention. In *A v SSHD*, an asylum seeker who refused to accept voluntary repatriation could not succeed in proving unlawful detainment. Toulson LJ commented 'there is a big difference between administrative detention in circumstances where there is no immediate prospect of the detainee being able to return to his country of origin and detention in circumstances where he could return there at once. In the latter case the loss of liberty involved in the individual's continued detention is a product of his own making.' His lordship's argument ignores the tension between imprisonment through the criminal law and indefinite detention without trial. The possibility of this permanent liminality is crystallised in the speech of Richards LJ in *R(MH) v Home Secretary* at para 65:

'Of course, if a finite time can be identified, it is likely to have an important effect on the balancing exercise: a soundly based expectation that removal can be effected within, say, two weeks will weigh heavily in favour of continued detention pending such removal, whereas an expectation that removal will not occur for, say, a further two years will weigh heavily against continued detention. There can, however, be a realistic prospect of removal without it being possible to specify or predict the date by which, or period within which, removal can reasonably be expected to occur and without any certainty that removal will occur at all. Again, the extent of certainty or uncertainty as to whether and when removal can be effected will affect the balancing exercise. There must be a sufficient prospect of removal to warrant continued detention when account is taken of all other relevant factors.'

A 'realistic' prospect of removal might thus be found in circumstances where both the experience of the detained and the power exerted by the sovereign regulator are no longer temporally bound. To mediate the concern caused by this ambiguity, Richards LJ devises a scale where longer periods of detention impose a more onerous burden on the minister to have certainty of if and when removal will occur:

"As the period of detention gets longer, the greater the degree of certainty and proximity of removal I would expect to be required in order to justify continued detention."

In *R (on the application of) v Secretary of State for the Home Department* [2015] EWCA Civ 168 ultimately affirmed that the length of time spent in detainment could differentiate lawful from unlawful detainment in cases with similar facts. On average, however, long periods of administrative detention in the UK are without remedy. One structural limitation of analysing case law is rooted in lack of sufficient legal aid to help people try their claims.

Experiencing IRCs

While administrative detention intuitively puts a stop to the peripatetic quality of migration, it is notable that a common experience of detainees is enforced mobility (Griffiths, 2013). Once an individual is caught within the remit of the administrative immigration detention regime, inter-center transfers and attendant loss of possessions, late night removals with uncertain destinations, and even potential release can occur without warning. Indeed, many individuals at the Campsfield IRC in Oxfordshire destined for deportation were subject to several removal attempts before actually being sent out of the country (ibid). In parallel to globalisation's ability to contract space and time, asylum seekers and migrants variously encounter space and time in accelerated and decelerated ways (Harvey, 1996). Time, as a social phenomenon in relation to migration, 'is a metaphor by which deportable migrants experience and describe the instability and powerlessness of the immigration system, and that temporal uncertainty and discord mark points of tension within the system' (Griffiths, 2013). Some detainees buckled under the uncertainty of state action. One Sri Lankan woman detained at Yarl's Wood told researchers that she had no home left to return to: 'There is nothing I can do... I can't go back. I have nowhere to go. I can do nothing. My family would never have me back. My mother died and they don't answer my phone calls' (Bosworth & Kellezi, 2016). An African detainee resident in an IRC for several months commented on the contradiction between the aims and realities of detention centres:

'I don't want them to dump me here, this is a removal centre! Not a place you can leave someone. It is for removal, for emergency!' (Griffiths 2013, 2003). This derogation from Detention Centre Rules can be read as a manifestation of Agamben's permanent state of exception. Arguably, even the exercise of sovereign power in the context of IRCs attracts a concomitant resistance at the same site. One asylum-seeker described his time in terms of liminality:

"When I live with the people who were in-between, before they get their permission and thing, they do what they like! Because nobody expect anything of them. They are not British, they are not Algerian, they are no belonging to anywhere, any community. They are in-between. They just do what they want" (Griffiths 2013, p.2003).

Incidence of mental health problems and self-harm is high in IRCs even when compared to the prison population. There are sound reasons underpinning this principle. For one, the detention system jeop-

ardises both the mental and physical health of detained individuals. A study of mental health conditions at one IRC found that four out five respondents meet symptomatic criteria for depression. The strongest indicators for depression in this sample included being female, medicated for health problems, a short duration of stay in the UK, no prior experience of prison, application for asylum, and application for judicial review. Depressed detainees were more likely to refuse food and use an interpreter (Shaw, 2016).

In addition to a variety of mental and physical health issues, there were twenty-four deaths at IRCs between 2004-2014. One incident involved an asylum seeker from Pakistan awaiting deportation. Long-term cardiac problems resulted in a determination that he was 'unfit to be detained.' Officials at Colnbrook, an IRC run by Serco, released him from detention. Here, rather than exercising sovereign power to preserve life, the state left him to die.

While the temporal experience of many migrants is characterised by waiting (Turnbull, 2016), the opposite effect of insufficient time can be observed in detainees who encounter the detention fast track rules. This procedure allows for the asylum process to be completed within about 21 days. Compounded with the possibility of being transferred across IRCs multiple times in a day and the possibility of release without any support mechanisms, the detention regime can devolve into frenzied attempts to contact family members and legal representatives under insurmountable time pressure. The result of this temporal effect is that detained populations are relegated to a depoliticized bare life.

The Fast Track Rules 2014 ("FTR") which previously governed appeals to the first instance tribunal responsible for presiding over refused asylum applications provide a pertinent example of how individual migrant experiences are affected by temporal uncertainties. These rules are secondary legislation promulgated under the authority of Section 22 of the Tribunals, Courts, and Enforcement Act 2007 which provides for the enactment of 'Tribunal Procedure Rules' (TPRs) by the Tribunal Procedure Committee. Subsection 4 of the act sets five objectives for the rules: (1) that justice is done, (2) that the tribunal system is accessible and fair, (3) that proceedings are handled quickly and efficiently, (4) that the rules are simple and simply expressed, and (5) that adjudicators bear the responsibility of (3). Immigration cases in particular are heard in the Immigration and Asylum Chamber. The TPRs for this tribunal are contained in The Tribunal Procedure (First-tier Tribunal) (Immigration and Asylum Chamber) Rules 2014, SI No 2604. These specific rules create a bifurcated procedure. Ordinary procedure is constituted by 'the Principal Rules' contained in Rules 1 through 46, while the Schedule to the SI contains the FTR.

Activist group Detention Action challenged the validity of the rules on the basis that the above objectives were not met due to, inter alia, the burden placed on legal representation for detainees. Lord Dyson held that the system 'is structurally unfair and unjust...justice and fairness should not be sacrificed at the altar of speed and efficiency,' confirming that the rules did not fulfill the objectives of their enabling legislation. Parallel forms of destitution are perhaps unsurprisingly instituted by ordinary procedure as well. Between the initial rejection and appeal, migrants may have to wait up to 12 months during which they cannot legally be employed. While some access government benefits to the tune of 36 pounds per week, others are forced to seek informal employment opportunities (Allsopp et al, 2014). Even with the piecemeal intervention of the courts forcing procedural reform, detained individuals are faced with exclusionary inclusion – the human rights regime that is supposed to operate as a safeguard is not enough to remedy indefinite detention. As a result, these individuals are liminal personae, indefinitely. In Arendt's terms, 'the only practical substitute for a homeland is [detainment]....

Once they had left their homeland they remained homeless, once they had left their state they became stateless, once they had been deprived of their human rights they were rightless, the scum of the earth' (Arendt, 1985, p.341).

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Permanent liminality, legal community, and migration law. By
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DOI: [10.20919/9780995786226/4](https://doi.org/10.20919/9780995786226/4)

5. Transcending home: citizenship and belonging in the migrant experience. By Marianela Barrios Aquino

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the concept of home (and its construction as a social as well as a subjective process) in relation to the migrant experience and the construction of multi-layered belongings. In this paper I argue that in the context of transnational migration, the concept of home focuses on its emotional perspective rather than its territorial connection, because it is constituted as a process of change and of searching related to the construction of multiple and extraterritorial ways of belonging (Brun & Fábos 2015; Korac 2009). Furthermore, I aim at challenging the notions of home as static and territorially bounded arguing that for migrants home is something highly portable, flexible, multiple, ambiguous and emotionally constructed.

In the case of migrants, home embodies the articulation of places and social relations that go beyond one geographic location (Brun, 2001) to which particular attachments are developed. Home can be represented as a construct that overlaps identity and belonging, where both of these involve a learning process triggered by the changing socio-cultural contexts of migrants' lives. In moving across cultural and socio-political borders, transnational migrants run the risk of losing a sense of belonging. Furthermore, migrants become the living proof of homemaking as an evolving construct, in this case as a result of the experience of migration or exile, "which is a dynamic and constantly changing process" (Habib 1996:96) that destabilises the material basis for identity construction and feelings of belonging: familiar spaces, known codes and symbols, language, customs, traditions, kinship, etc. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) a feeling of home is developed in the fields where our *habitus* has developed (Friedman 2002, Easthope 2004:7).

Habitus, understood as set of learned socio-cultural tools that inform our actions based on past experiences (Bourdieu 1977) is developed in specific social fields. Migrating internationally may mean that those fields change, widen and span over time and place. Additionally, it means that migrants will find themselves in new spaces operating by norms and rules of an older *habitus* (developed in other fields). Since transnational social spaces transcend cultural and political boundaries as well as time (spanning past, present and future in the imaginaries of people) this obsolescence of codes and norms to inform action is most likely to be experienced with anxiety by those who dwell in those spaces and that construct their lives between and across places of origin and places of residence.

The result of that inefficacy of dispositions to inform action is a destabilisation of a biographical repertoire that can result in positions of disadvantage for the migrant, which in turn results in a feeling of uncertainty about their place in the world (Jarvis 2006). In a study on multiculturalism, Verkuyten states that "[t]he lack of a shared and clear set of values and norms would imply that you do not know what is expected of you and what can be expected from others" (Verkuyten 2006:153). This sense of

uncertainty will result in disempowerment due to the difficulty of putting in practice adjusting strategies when the responses from the social context are unknown and confusing. Thus, learning processes will be set in motion to counteract this disempowering experience. It can then be said that movements across social spaces represent "moments of intense learning as they have to modify the structure and meaning of their lives as adults and adapt to a new social world" (Morrice 2012: 252).

When we think of international migrants, we often think of individuals who leave their home country to start a life in a different country. That is, individuals who leave a place and arrive in another. In this chapter I offer a slightly broader perspective, where migrants never really leave a place and never completely arrive in another. They are always present and absent at the same time. This becomes more clear when we use the terminology that defines them: emigrants and immigrants, and in general migrants. Emigrants are those absent, those who left the country of origin and are regarded from a place that has been left behind. Immigrants, on the other hand, are those same individuals who are regarded as aliens from a place of arrival or destination. They are the newcomers who were not here before. Migrants, more generally, refers to a notion of movement that is more in line with the idea neither leaving nor arriving, rather of being on the move. An individual is always all three denominations at the same time.

In trying to situate this notion of migrant, the concept of space is very useful, because it allows us to overcome the limitations offered by territorial conceptualisations of nation-states. In order to apply it to transnational contexts, space can be defined as a "sort of container to a socially, politically and economically relevant construct" (Faist 2000:18). Following this, migration will not simply be defined as the movement of people across nation-states, but rather "an economic, political, cultural, and demographic process which encapsulates various links between two or more settings in various nation-states and manifold ties of movers and stayers between them" (Faist 2000:8) where the roles of movers and stayers sometimes overlap due to the migration experience. Moreover, migrants are individuals dwelling and moving across transnational spaces, producing them and reproducing them with their experiences and everyday practices. Basch and colleagues linked transnationalism to migration studies by defining the former as "the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch et al. 1994). Following this logic, this chapter situates migrants' practices of homemaking in transnational social spaces. This is crucial not only for the understanding of homemaking, but also to reflect on the making of transnational social spaces, where experiences are de-territorialised and moved across and beyond the frame of nation-states and linear temporality, where the past has been left behind, the present is here and the future is a thing yet to come.

So far I have stated that migrating situates migrants and the construction of their home in transnational social spaces. Furthermore, I have argued that moving across social spaces may create disempowering situations for migrants. In this chapter, I will also argue that citizenship acquisition, as a promise of belonging, can become a strategy to fight senses of unease and uncertainty. Citizenship promises to satisfy the need to belong and can be used as a tool to construct a sense of belonging that will aid in the construction of home for migrants, even if only as a legally recognised way of being able to stay and to preserve the ongoing construction of belonging/home at the place of residence. The chapter will be divided into three sections that will focus on the three following ideas respectively:

- Home is understood as a familiar place of security and safety, and is based on a sense of multi-layered belonging.

- Migration destabilises notions of identity and belonging, typically creating a feeling (at least initially) of uncertainty and loss of control that will trigger homemaking strategies in order to regain control
- Citizenship acquisition can be used as a response to the uncertainty caused by the migration experience and to (re)construct a new feeling of belonging, of *being at home*.

I will finish the chapter with a conclusion and some personal reflections about the question of how migrants make homes looking through the lens of citizenship.

Multi-layered belonging and migrants' representations of home

Migrants often see home as a place "where normal life can be lived; it is a place that can provide [...] a sense of belonging" (Eastmond 2006:153). Furthermore, she and other scholars argue that those conditions can only be fulfilled in transnational social spaces, where both place of origin and of destination can be condensed (Eastmond 2006, Brun & Fábos 2015). When migrants leave their home countries, they bring along memories and a cultural repertoire that has informed their notions of home and belonging throughout their lives. Those cultural tools are context dependent and will necessarily be questioned once the socio-cultural context changes, which always happens in the case of transnational migrations. For this reason, their homemaking practices will also shift, whatever they were. They will adjust to a new reality that includes other codes and symbols, and as Donà (2015) argues, that can lead to shifting homemaking practices to deterritorialised spaces. These changes can take place in numerous different ways and the nature of the changes will necessarily vary with each individual. An example could be how migrants bring objects from their places of origin to their new homes, the foods they cook, the language that is spoken at home, etc.

Homemaking practices developed in transnational social spaces as a consequence of the experience of migration will most likely lead to multi-layered notions of belonging (Yuval-Davis & Werbner 1999) and ambiguous representations of home. This multi-layered notion of belonging is not free of conflict. It is not a mere integration of realities that act in harmonious combination with each other, but a "complex structuration of the everyday realms consisting of multiple spheres of belonging that are often likely to be incompatible" (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2013:10). These realms can be translated into being here and there, now and in the past as well as in the future, dwelling in an old *habitus* that is no longer informing the necessary dispositions. It has also been argued that migration can "foster cultural hybridity and complex, sometimes contradictory identities, as people negotiate diverse geographical spaces and cultural contexts" (Long & Oxfeld 2004 in Marschall 2017:216)

As has been argued before, *habitus* or the tools acquired to make sense of the world are key to providing a sense of familiarity and thus, a sense of belonging. It can be said that through *habitus* we are able to relate to the outside world in ways that make sense to us and to those around us, which is vital for the construction of home and belonging. In this sense, the learning processes involved in the construction of home are, in the case of the experience of migration, related to a revisit to the socialisation processes where codes and symbols for interaction (*habitus*) were learned. These newly "acquired tools" will develop into new forms of interaction through which migrants may "forge themselves in a new society" (Korac 2009) and with which they will construct new senses of familiarity that will incor-

porate notions of home from the past, material realities and representations of home from the present and hopes for future homes (Brun & Fábos 2015)

Additionally, Korac (2009) argues that home is also something of the past, a sort of negation (Eastmond 2006) of belonging and it often becomes a constant search for a meaningful place. In the context of transnational social spaces, Tuan has explored the relationship between people and places and he argues that rootedness is “a knowing that is the result of familiarity through long residence” while a sense of place is “a knowing that is the result of conscious effort” (Tuan 1980:8 in Easthope 2004). In both cases, home is represented as a sphere of familiarity in terms of knowing the social networks and codes and norms involved.

In discussing home and homemaking processes with migrants, they often make reference to a place they belong to as well as a place left behind. Both of these can coincide but they don't necessarily do so. The idea of home evokes notions of belonging, of familiarity, of security and safety, (Čapo 2015) and when trying to construct a home, migrants often try to emulate a lost feeling of belonging. Home can then be described as a place to which we feel emotionally attached and a place that helps us tell our story. A place that recognises us as familiar as much as we recognise it as familiar. It can be a place in our memories, in our everyday life, in our dreams and hopes. Home is the combination of those places and the expectations we have of them as well as our interactions with people and socio-political and cultural structures there. The familiarity of those places makes us feel comfortable and particular aspects of those places can even symbolise aspects of who we are (Rose 1995) and how we represent ourselves.

Migration does not imply that a 'homing desire' (Brah 1996) will be deleted and one will simply dwell in a nostalgia of the past. Moreover, it simply transforms imaginaries of home to reflect the transnational nature of the links, networks, everyday lives, belongings, etc. of migrants. That transformation creates a vision of home that can be more ambiguous (Sandu 2013). Home becomes more mobile, more volatile, where anchoring strategies relying on objects, symbols, aromas, etc. may be used in order to recreate familiarities. These produced or manufactured familiarities acquire a great value in the life narratives of migrants, who are constantly searching for belonging that would match their multiple attachments and loyalties.

Several scholars (Gurney 2000, Easthope 2004, Hamzah & Adnan 2016, Eastmond 2006) have argued for the emotional and experienced side of the concept of home, challenging assumptions of its territorially or materially bounded nature. When focusing on the experienced and subjective side of the concept of home, scholars are acknowledging the possibility of the relational nature of the concept. This allows for the possibility of it being experienced in radically different ways (Boccagni & Brighenti 2017) because this perspective assumes that home is never completed, never fully achieved and always changing.

Making home within the context of transnational lives is related to a process through which people “try to gain control over their lives and involves negotiating specific understandings of home” (Brun & Fábos 2015) The negotiation takes place between the migrants, their networks in the countries of origin and the context and social structures in the places of residence. Those networks and structures span beyond the borders of those geographical locations and beyond time, constructing transnational social spaces where they can fit with their fragmented stories and geographies.

Revisiting identities in transnational social spaces: disempowerment and the experience of migration

It is worth highlighting here that neither of the three concepts of identity, homemaking and belonging exists divorced from their social context. Therefore, identification processes and identity practices can only be studied within specific frames of social processes and bearing in mind that they are constructed and developed within that frame (Berger & Luckmann 1966). With this in mind, the relationship between identity and transnational social spaces is two-fold: firstly, migrants' identity is constructed within a transnational frame and, secondly, this results in a multi-layered notion of belonging.

In the context of transnational social spaces, identity construction is a process of becoming (Pilkington and Flynn 1999) that links geographies and past, present and future (Korac 2009), turning it into a process that transcends territories/spaces/places and spans over time, questioning both a linear vision of temporality and a territorially bounded understanding of identity. This approach particularly challenges the assumption that migration is about geographical movements that start in the past and stop in the present, upon arrival in the country of destination. When in transnational social spaces, migrants find themselves navigating unknown structures with obsolete tools for those navigations. The codes and symbols that served for interaction in the past, as seen above, are not fully functional.

It is important to highlight that the fact that home can be made (Xenos 1996) is not a denial of the existence of territorially based aspects of identity, rather a reminder of the importance of the fact that territory is only an aspect of identities and of nation-state building (Korac 2009; Xenos 1996).

With that in mind, I use this paper to ask how do migrants dwell and make homes in those transnational spaces? I argue that they can do this through identification processes that keep them connected to various locations and times simultaneously, which turns them into architects of a new belongings, building networks and structures in new social contexts with tools brought from another social space, across borders and cultures. New and old, here and there, familiar and foreign, all are sides of the transnational construction of identities in the experience of migration.

Migration, thus, can be seen as much more than a geographical relocation. This means that the relocation also occurs at a cultural level, because it entails new ways of understanding social relations and new ways of positioning oneself in front of new groups for comparison (host community, community of origin, other fellow migrants, etc.). As Benmayor puts it: "migration is a long-term if not a life-long process of negotiating identity, difference, and the right to fully exist and flourish in the new context" (Benmayor 2007:8) or in Sayad's words, the individual "does not emigrate (i.e., one does not cut the ties with one's own social, economic, cultural, customary universe) and does not immigrate (i.e., one does not aggregate, even when in a marginal and very superficial way, to another social system) with impunity (i.e. without consequences), among immigrants, is produced an inevitable conversion of their attitudes toward themselves, towards their home country and toward the society in which they live" (Sayad 1998:65). It is not possible to remain unchanged while migrating. When crossing cultural borders migrants are faced with the limits of their own tools to interact because they don't have the knowledge that we usually classify under the category of "common sense". Paradoxically, there is nothing less common than common sense in this context. Manners, values, basic behaviour rules

such as queuing or buying groceries can become important barriers to interaction in everyday life when one is not acquainted with the ways of a place.

The ignorance of certain basic rules of interaction can represent a very disempowering facet of the experience of migration, since disorientation and anxiety can overcome the individual when faced with the necessity of asking a question without speaking the language or being invited to somebody's house and not knowing whether to keep their shoes on or not. Simple everyday tasks can entail a long process of discovery and become the object of moments of intense learning (Morrice 2012). Furthermore, through those learning experiences migration changes the migrants' perception of the world and of themselves, and constitutes a moment of identity reconfiguration. In line with this Dubar argues that changing norms, habits and models may result in the destabilisation of symbolic systems (Dubar 2006) and consequently the migrant can be left in the dark when it comes to anticipating someone else's behaviour. This can result in a feeling of uncertainty and even unease about everyday activities, like taking the kids to school or meeting the kids' teacher.

This paper is based on an understanding of identities as tools that inform action for interaction (Goffman 1959) acknowledging that they are in turn informed by codes and symbols learned in interaction. This theoretical approach defines identities in terms of agency and looks for their representations in embodied habits of social life (Billig 1995) and everyday practices, like for example, homemaking practices.

Identities are context-dependent. When the social context changes, as happens in the experience of migration, migrants will find that what they learned in another context no longer applies to their current reality. Those symbols and values that once enabled them to classify others and be classified in a more or less expected way become obsolete when entering in direct contact with a foreign culture or society. As a result, migrants may perceive a limitation in their capacity to make sense of the social context and react accordingly, which in turn will translate into a feeling of loss of control. This sense of uncertainty will result in disempowerment due to the difficulty of adjusting strategies, action and goals, when the responses from the social context are unknown and confusing, or cannot be classified into a known category.

In addition to configuring the migrant's vision of the world, identity is at the same time configured by "resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not "who we are" or "where we came from", so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves" (Hall, 1996:4). Identity is thus defined as that active creation and performance of a narrative of the self, which provides a sense of order (Yuval-Davis, 2011; Wetherell, 1996) and that translates social domains and locations into strategies of action and self-representation, providing information about symbols and codes for interaction. In other words, identity is vital for migrants to be able to draw on their experiences to participate in social life along with others. Therefore, identity is about agency, about an ability to act meaningfully and about interaction with others. According to Hashmi (2000) migrant identities involve the re-evaluation of oneself because migrants find themselves surrounded by new (possibly unknown) traditions, customs, etc.

Identity construction is thus a relevant issue when exploring the variegated nature of homemaking or the construction of home in transnational scenarios, because it can be seen as a process "of being and becoming, belonging and longing to belong" (Probyn, 1996; Fortier, 2000 in Yuval-Davis, 2011:15). Feelings of belonging refer to emotions that evoke attachment and a sense of place to individuals, which are closely related to issues of identity. Identity, belonging and homemaking can be regarded as

key overlapping aspects of the experience of migration. Home is where we can be ourselves. When our selves are fragmented and destabilised as the result of our experiences, in this case the experience of migration, our strategies will necessarily turn to try to recover a loss sense of who we are and of our place in the world. Individuals seem to feel a need to construct a home wherever they are, whatever the circumstances. Scholars like Brun and Fábos, who study forced migration, argue that even those individuals in the most precarious situations develop homemaking practices, wherever they are (2015).

Citizenship as construction of multi-layered belonging as homemaking strategy

Citizenship scholars (Isin & Nielsen 2008, Erel 2013, Morrice 2016, Koopmans et al. 2005) address the concept of citizenship beyond its legal status, acknowledging that it is also a social process that involves everyday practices. Citizenship is also seen as a practice that creates a certain *way of being*. Some scholars (Isin, 2012; Yuval-Davis, 2011; Fortier, 2013) have described citizenship as a learning path that is incorporated into the *habitus* of the subject and is activated even when performing other 'individual' actions like mothering (Erel, 2013). In terms of homemaking strategies, citizenship can represent a way of protecting oneself from the threat of being removed from a place. Immigration policies are perceived as being constantly changing and becoming ever increasingly restrictive, threatening to break the continuity of migrants' constructions of home in the place of residence.

Citizenship regimes are also an example of how policies can determine boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, where some subjects are allowed to gain membership into a polity while others are kept out of those boundaries (Yuval-Davis 2011). On the other hand, scholars like Bloch (2014) consider citizenship regimes only a part of the experience of citizenship. Even when they constitute an important part they don't tell the whole story of experiencing citizenship and the shape that it can take in everyday life. In her study of Moldovan migrants, Bloch argues that "migrants relate to and strategize around citizenship regimes in very different ways depending on the types of subjectivity" (Bloch 2014: 464). This approach acknowledges that citizenship regimes and institutional notions of citizenship affect migrants' relationship to citizenship only in part and that although they may determine the process or access to citizenship, they cannot control migrants' dreams, expectations and experiences of citizenship.

I would like to argue that citizenship is a particular political project of belonging that also activates very specific discourses of belonging and community. Citizenship regimes enforce cultural requirements that tell the story of a cohesive national community, of a homogeneous population of like-minded people to which the aspiring citizen would have access to once complying with all the policy requirements. A definition of citizenship that incorporates notions of identity, belonging, rights, status, moral values and that is *practiced* in different domains of social life (Bosniak 2006, Morrice 2016) is important when talking about migrants because it acknowledges the experienced side of citizenship. Yuval-Davis complemented this definition by saying that it is also about membership in several communities and that "people's lives are shaped by their rights and obligations in local, ethnic, religious, national, regional, transnational and international political communities" (Yuval-Davis 2013:7). This addition is very useful due to the necessity of enlarging the definition of citizenship to fit those who are members of more than one community, with multiple belongings and who – for that very reason – may experience citizenship in a radically different form, because transnational mobility necessarily complicates notions of citizenship and belonging (Bloch 2014:449). Here, the study of be-

longing is not limited to individual or collective emotional or ideological attachments to groups or geographies, but also encompasses the dissection of a wider social and political structure that determines who belongs and how to belong, and that can have an impact on the individual's experience. As a personal, subjective phenomenon, the individual constructs her belonging to a polity within a political context, which in turn shapes that construction. Belonging is also about boundaries and rules of attachment. Those boundaries are collectively and politically constructed but subjectively internalised by the individual. I don't intend to deny those boundaries, I merely have argued for citizenship being regarded and often experienced as guarantee for a more stable, more plausible construction of home.

It is thus inevitable to speak of citizenship in broader terms due to the complexity of the concept itself, which in the case of migrants, refers to a membership that is multi-layered, implies several political communities, and is "composed of local, regional, national, cross-national and supranational political communities" (Yuval-Davis 2011:49). For this paper, it is important to take into account all dimensions of citizenship in order to better understand its relevance in the homemaking processes or the construction of belonging of the migrant. There is always a connection between citizenship and belonging, where citizenship is considered a project through which migrants naturalising as citizens have to go in order to be *awarded* the right to belong. That *right to belong* comes with a sense of security and stability that the experience of migration often lacks or has taken away. Whether this may actually be realised in everyday life is another issue, but citizenship in itself is a concept loaded with (*illusions*) of equality and full membership.

In drawing on the idea that everyday notions of citizenship are related to a sense of belonging and to feelings of stability, I want to argue that migrants may acquire citizenship as part of a search for belonging (Bloch, 2014). Given that citizenship can be experienced in a variety of ways, I believe this idea does not clash with the limiting and normative nature of citizenship regimes and naturalisation processes, which I consider act as restrictive gateways to belonging (Morrice, 2011). Furthermore, I believe citizenship regimes also send a message (through a discursive construction of national identity) of being the doorway to a supposedly cohesive and integrated society. Thus, naturalisation processes require of aspiring citizens that they learn to think of themselves as members of a specific community (Fortier, 2010). This is how citizenship is constructed as the *perfect* path to building a home and making oneself *at home*; as the promise to satisfy the longing to belong. In most cases⁷,

whether migrants believe in that promise or not, this at least means that the search for belonging is not limited to one single place of attachment, rather it reflects a search for belonging in various "systems of national belonging" at the same time (Fouon & Glick Schiller, 2001). This is what I refer to when I talk about multi-layered belonging.

The search for a lost home, for a certain type of rootedness in the place of residence can be satisfied (at least initially) with the acquisition of citizenship, even when all that is gained with citizenship is the (*potential*) access to the right to preserve the current home, the right to continue to develop a sense of belonging in the place of residence although always in connection with the place of origin. This can be interpreted as the final realisation of a multi-layered belonging, where the place of origin, the status of alien, other or migrant no longer pose a threat to the continuity of one's construction of home. Thus, citizenship is here also understood as the right to stay permanently, to fully access all rights to stay and construct a home in the place of destination. Citizenship is often perceived by migrants as a level of stability that allows them to feel *more at home*. This will potentially have a great impact on the perception of the ability to construct a home. Ong (1999) call migrants that naturalise in their countries of residence 'flexible citizens' (Ong, 1999:214) because their everyday lives and practices take place in

various locations and they seek to acquire multiple passports to guarantee the continuity of this mode of life.

Citizenship is considered as the ultimate sign of a successful integration, which means that the migrant can potentially become something different than an alien. Theoretically and according to policy, acquiring citizenship is to be thought of as a rite of passage, where the migrant can begin to feel at home and develop a deeper sense of belonging in the place of residence. Reality, however, often looks a bit different. Migrants often instrumentalise citizenship in terms of acquiring a new passport that allows them to travel more freely, or to preserve their current lives and constitute a guarantee against the ever changing and politically laden nature of immigration policy. In either case, whether the migrant actually feels a new attachment to the place of residence through the acquisition of citizenship or simply instrumentalises it in order to preserve the continuity of their experience, citizenship is a guarantee of safety and a protection against discriminatory immigration policies that threaten the permanence and quality of life of migrants in the host community.

Conclusion

Migration, typically involves such a change of scenario and of the codes and symbols operating in that scenario, that it has (at least initially) a disempowering effect on migrants' lives. This can be directly related to a loss of home and of a sense of belonging. This situation pushes migrants to set in motion a series of strategies to try to counteract that disempowerment and regain control over their lives. One of those strategies can be the acquisition of citizenship, which will provide a sense of certainty and security that can facilitate the continuous construction of home.

In this paper I have tried to argue that cross-cultural contacts have an impact on migrants' identities and perceptions of themselves. One of the main results of the experience of migration can be a sense of being lost and/or having lost a home. Whether the migration has been forced or voluntary, the reason for this feeling of loss is related to a divergence between the known tools for interaction and those in use at the place of destination, a divergence that destabilises the ability of the subject to know what to expect from others and, therefore, to know their place in the world. Moreover, that gap will trigger learning processes that will imply a transformation (whether a positive or a negative one is impossible to know).

I have also tried to argue for the impossibility of using national borders or single national allegiances to explore homemaking processes in migrants' lives, since migrants themselves dwell between (Bhabha, 1991) nation-states, across cultural and socio-political borders, their imaginaries are informed by a multiplicity of images, smells, places, geographies, stories, languages, that will render a single territory inadequate to explain their sense of belonging, their construction of self and homes. Thus, I argue, transnational social spaces are the only possible scenario that can reflect the reality of migrants' everyday lives and homemaking strategies, because only they allow conflicting notions of home and belonging to coexist. Only in transnational social spaces can migrants construct homes that integrate various memories and desires, a broad notion of temporality that spans over geographies and time frames, condensing past, present and future into one imaginary home that can fulfil a search for belonging.

The thread that I have tried to present represents an idea of migration that is destabilising, due to the loss of familiarity with the social context and structure in which the individual needs to act. It connects this idea of migration as a disempowering experience (because of the anxiety linked to the initial

ignorance of new rules, values, codes and symbols) and contrasts with a concept of home, here presented as a feeling of belonging that can be equated with security, stability, familiarity, and acceptance. Although both migration and homemaking are contrasting phenomena or concepts, they are not mutually exclusive. That is, migrants don't stop making homes and searching for homes when they migrate, since I don't believe home is static and therefore opposed to movement (migration). In that search, migrants often find that citizenship is the promise of finally arriving and fulfilling the need to belong to a place.

It is important to highlight here that equality through citizenship in terms of rights and responsibilities as well as in terms of status is an illusion. Failing to do so, would imply disregarding all other types of social, cultural, gender, race, etc. inequalities. For that reason I presented the citizenship regime as promising (as well as limiting and restricting) a sense of belonging. Moreover, equality is as much an illusion as the bonded community described through notions of national identity that aspiring citizens have to adopt and adhere to.

Leaving a place that is familiar, a place that *knows* us, leaves us out of place. We no longer belong here or there. In good days this will mean that we can belong anywhere, in bad days it may mean that we belong nowhere. But the feeling of longing to construct a familiarity that binds us somewhere, that keeps us from moving, from being uprooted, does not leave us. Anchoring strategies may be placing a lot of value on an object that we take along with us, treasuring memories and idealising ideas of a past home, a warm place that we often imagine is still there where we left it. We are often surprised by the fact that the reality of those familiar places, our networks and stories do not match our memories. This is probably the moment we realise that we have been uprooted, and that our roots have taken another shape.

What strikes me as the biggest dilemma is that even when realising that, we persevere, almost blindly and pointlessly in the search for a home even when being uprooted has become a part of our stories of self and home, that places and geographies no longer tell our stories, also not those that once did. In that search, almost a need, we hold on to anything that is a promise of recovering that familiarity, that sense of belonging, of being *in place and not out of place*. Acquiring citizenship worked for me as a promise, as the opening of a door, and it did transform my strategies for constructing belonging. However, it did not stop the search and now I think of my roots as growing in water, like I have them in a glass that I can take with me wherever I go. Even when I stay, I am moving, I am revisiting past and future projects of migration. And even then, I am always trying to stay, to manufacture a familiarity and a belonging that although illusory, would fit my fragmented geographies, my fragmented homes.

In this chapter I have tried to argue that although migration relativises so much and turns us inside out, the longing to belong, the need to make a home is always there, and that citizenship is constructed as a promise of satisfying that need. Although I don't know if citizenship actually satisfies the need.

I would like to finish with Bhabha's words saying "a transnational 'migrant' knowledge of the world is most urgently needed" (1991) because really, what I here described as being true for migrants, may be true for everybody.

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DOI: [10.20919/9780995786226/5](https://doi.org/10.20919/9780995786226/5)

1. The cases where dual nationality is allowed and migrants don't have to renounce their citizenship of origin

6. ZuHause: a brief examination of home and identity in post-reunification East Germany. By Myles Logan Miller

A house divided against itself cannot stand...

I do not expect the Union to be dissolved – I do not expect the house to fall – but I do expect it will cease to be divided.

Abraham Lincoln

June 16, 1858

Home: Domicile and Environment

Home is a concept for many people that hinges on a few key ideas and more often than not has an incredible impact on how individuals view and understand the world around them. A safe and stable home often creates a sense of security even when one is not in the dwelling proper, while an unsafe or unstable home can cause anxiety and uncertainty for one's future and well-being. Though these apply not only to the home proper, perhaps best understood as the dwelling or house, but also to the environment around the home and the community, landscape, and mood that make up that environment. However, what is the effect on the individual or group when a home is radically changed or destroyed? The destruction of a dwelling by disaster or conflict is undoubtedly a traumatic experience and can cause immeasurable stress on an individual, their family and friends, as well as on their economic security and well-being. Yet, if one expands this to examine the destruction of the environment around the home the stress of safety and security are joined by a question of identity and of how the individual should understand themselves in a home that no longer resembles that which they consider to be home. This environmental destruction of the concept of home can be examined in the now defunct German Democratic Republic (GDR or East Germany), as the destruction of the physical and meta-physical home was a reality of the total-war of World War Two and the political restructuring that followed. Yet perhaps more telling about the human relationship to their "home" is the identity conflict which followed the collapse of the communist dictatorship of the GDR and the eventual reunification of the two Germanies under the auspices of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG or West Germany). This article aims to briefly explore the relationship between the socio-political and economic environment and identity by understanding the concept of "home" as an idea that transcends the dwelling space proper and rather encompasses those natural and constructed organs which influence and shape humanity.

Building a Home for Socialism

The GDR was officially formed on October 7, 1949, most likely as a reaction to the constitutional elections conducted in the West (Niven and Thomaneck, 2001). Yet at this time the country did not yet have the dividing structure which would be the catalyst for the development of two different cultures, or at the very least pseudo-identities. Following the *Wirtschafts Wunder* (economic miracle) in the 1950s, during which the FRG's economy almost completely recovered from the devastation of the war, the East German economy was still struggling. Leaving the East German population to either consign themselves to years of economic uncertainty, or flee to the West and rebuild their lives in an environment of socio-political freedom and economic strength. In order to combat those fleeing to the West, on August 13, 1961, GDR General Secretary Walter Ulbricht ordered the building of a wall along the lines of demarcation in both Berlin and along the GDR's borders with the FRG. This project was an attempt to keep a work-force in the state and defend the legitimacy of the GDR. The Wall's construction was overseen, interestingly enough, by future General Secretary Erich Honecker. Following Honecker's rise to power in January 1971, the GDR began taking major steps to define its own identity, separate from that of the West. This was epitomised by Honecker's, and his wife Margot's, plan to teach "Marxism in action" (Childs, 1985). This change in the education system was the root cause of the identity crisis which would strike the GDR leading up to, and directly following the collapse of the SED (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, Socialist Unity Party of Germany), the ruling party, in the East. This identity crisis was the result of the GDR's education system, which aspired to develop a perception of "Germany" which inherently and irreversibly revolved around the GDR.

For Honecker the East German political elite, developing this separate Marxist identity within the GDR would be a means for them to legitimize and separate themselves from their more successful and prosperous western cousins. It was employed as a means to develop a home and identity group which pitted itself against the FRG and the wider Western World. This curriculum of "Marxism in Action," developed within the Education Act of 1965, was intended to develop feelings of pride in socialist Germany while at the same time foment a deep hatred to those who stood counter to the principles of the proletariat revolution (Childs, 1985). While it is debatable as to whether this shift was ultimately a success, it does underline the importance of the education in formulating the environment around us. This titanic endeavour was not just an attempt to distinguish the GDR from the West and create a sense of state pride, but also to inform national conscience and attempt to subvert a sense of German *Volks* that had existed for nearly one century. This, in turn, informed the perception of the wider home environment of the community, state, and nation. Yet, this educational shift may have also offered some early influence which led to the protests that plagued the GDR in the latter days of 1989 which contributed to Honecker's removal from power. Along with attempting to teach an "us versus them" mentality, with regards to socialism and its opponents, "Marxism in action" wanted to eliminate idle thought and translate that into tangible socio-political action.

Cracks in the Foundation

By 1989 the situation in the GDR had devolved to the point that demonstrations were popping up all over the country. Spurred and influenced by the Leipzig Monday Demonstrations, these marches sought to draw attention to the brutality of the East German regime, as well as call for greater democratisation of the East German political structure. On October 9th in desperate attempt to maintain con-

trol, Honecker ordered the mobilisation of GDR troops and nearly brought a Tiananmen Square style massacre to Europe. Luckily this ill-advised action was countermanded by local officials (Millar, 1989). Due to his rash action Honecker was removed from office and replaced with the more moderate Egon Krenz, yet even this massive political shakeup would prove ineffective in maintaining the status quo in the GDR. Less than a month after Honecker's forced retirement, the GDR Politburo resigned on No-

vember 7th and only two days later, on November 9th 1989, the Berlin Wall fell (Childs, 2001). This period known as the *Wende*, or turning point, began a period of attempted reform by the GDR government, this was one of the demands of the demonstrations for many must have represented an uncertain but hopeful future in their larger home environment. However, for others home was not the GDR, rather the entirety of Germany and reunification would be a means to repair or rebuild their metaphysical concept of a German home. This feeling of German *Volk* and the economic stability and certainty that ac-

companied reunification eventually led to the two states to be reunified on October 3rd 1990.

Following the *Wende*, East Germans began to second-guess their enthusiastic support for reunification. With the whole of the GDR absorbed by the West, their economic system, as well as the humanist nature which many in the East believed came with socialism, were overwhelmed by the capitalist influx from the West. In short, the East German home that many had identified with and come to associate with themselves was no longer a reality. This was especially obvious for easterners in 1991 when the unemployment rate, new for East Germany, skyrocketed following FRG companies buying GDR companies and dismantling them. GDR factories rivalled those in the West. Western companies recognised how GDR facilities could help their production in the West. FRG companies then bought those facilities which they deemed useful, dismantled them, transported what they wanted back West, and used the machinery in their own factories. This all took place with little to no regard for the jobs of the East Germans who worked in those GDR factories. This left many East Germans without jobs, but also without anywhere to get a job. In only six months from July of 1990 to January of 1991 unemployment in the former GDR jumped from 272,000 people all the way to 757,200 people. According to an April 1991 *U.S. News and World Report*, "By the end of 1991, according to some estimates, more than half of all eastern Germans will be unemployed and only 20 percent of the businesses from the old Communist regime will be operating." (Baer, 1998). This massive shift in employment and industrial production also affected perception of home in the form of economic security. Many unemployed East Germans were forced to seek financial assistance or travel vast distances to find work in the West. If a home is a physical representation of security for an individual, a modern castle if you will, then the inability to maintain that home calls that security into question. A castle may offer defence from enemies, but the inability to keep the castle stocked with provisions undermines its security from within. A similar process took place for many Germans, while social safety nets kept people from starving their castles foundation was nonetheless compromised.

This destruction from the inside out was not just the result of the failing economy of the GDR prior to the *Wende*, but also a result of concerted efforts by the West German government who managed the state-owned assets of the former GDR. In an effort to privatise and revitalise GDR industry, the *Treuhandanstalt* (or *Treuhand*) was formed as a trust organization to manage the process of moving one of the largest East Bloc economies into the free market. One of the legal mandates charged to the *Treuhand* was also the establishment of a strong job market in the East. Yet, this mandate, worked into the Unification Treaty under article 25, did not offer the guarantee of employment opportunities. This lack of guaranteed jobs was further exacerbated by the governments limited influence over these institutions after privatisation had been accomplished (Cassel, 2002). Because of these shortcomings unemployment ballooned from effectively 0% in 1989 to around 30% by the end of 1991. This trans-

lates into 4.9 million East Germans struggling with unemployment and the dangers associated with such in a free market economy (Sinn and Sinn, 1992). This was also exacerbated by how the Treuhand went about privatising the GDR economy. In order to create an easy framework of managing the thousands of state owned firms, the Treuhand divided these firms into three primary categories: firms deemed to be profitable with little or no interference by the Treuhand, firms seen as having potential but treated with a “wait and see” attitude, and firms that were deemed too costly to build up and better suited to liquidation (Allen, 1993). Those firms that were privatised were also often passed on to West German and foreign investors rather than the individuals who had been running the firms during the GDR era. While management buy-outs did take place they were often far outweighed by East German companies being purchased and managed by those from elsewhere whose interest in these firms were often purely economic in nature (Allen, 1993). The collapse of the East German state began the erosion of a sense of security for many East Germans, however, the transfer of ownership and agency in the East German “home” further intensified this cognitive dissonance between the hopes for a united German home and the reality of building such.

Old House, New Home

Effects of reunification were fairly obvious politically and economically, but on the personal level many, especially those who had been involved with the SED felt as if their work had meant nothing. An East German named Walter, interviewed by social scientist Dr. Hans Baer following the *Wende*, reflected on what it all meant to him. Walter felt a sense of worthlessness as all of his work with the Party seemed for naught. For Walter, what became fundamental towards forming his opinion regarding reunification was a policy at Humboldt University (where Walter worked) known as *Abwicklung* (unraveling). *Abwicklung* was a process of reducing the state and the people of East Berlin, and East Germany, down to their most basic form. This was in an attempt to reconnect them with the historical identity of a united Germany, as well as a way, as Walter saw it, to throw off the vestiges of a socialist Germany and have the people of the GDR “become” West Germans. Keeping with the common theme of “home” this *Abwicklung* attempted to tear the East German identity and environmental understanding of home down to its foundations after which they could then build a copy of the West German concepts of home and identity on its foundations. Walter was asked by the university to do “house cleaning” within his ethnography department and eventually even he was asked to leave because of his ties to the SED. At the time of the interview, 1991, Walter believed that the FRG had bought the GDR in what he called a “clean sale.” What he meant by this was that the FRG had no interest in perpetuating GDR brands, or even allowing the differences in culture to persist. In small ways Walter tried to counter this by purchasing as many eastern goods as he could (Baer, 1998). In that way he could win a small victory, and though this took place only shortly after reunification, East Germans trying to purchase what is specifically “East” can still be seen today.

This shifts the discussion from the more environmental impacts on home to those of a more domestic nature. While the environment and special proximity most certainly influences the concept, and understanding, of home and identity, it is in the domestic sphere that these influences are truly boiled down to their essence and can be most readily identified. It is in these objects and consumables that East Germans began to bring into their homes that one can begin to explore how the understanding of home and identity was affected by reunification. For this exploration, it is especially helpful to look at the advent and rise of *Ostalgie*. *Ostalgie*, or nostalgia for the East, began to creep into the public sphere in the early 1990s and has continued to increase as people search for reminders of a home that is distinctly East German home. This desire for reminders of a time, place, and concept, that no longer existed gave rise to the demand and production of various products, including media, which hearkened

back to a time before reunification. This nostalgia for the East German past has even increased as the time between the GDR and the present widens especially followed the success of films such as *Good bye, Lenin!* (a popular film depicting life during the *Wende*) and a huge surge of TV shows in the early 2000s which highlighted and occasionally made satire of life in the GDR. Though this was not the first-time TV had focused on the GDR, it was the first time that the GDR was used as light entertainment instead of a documentary subject. The typical model for these shows degraded everything which was a reality for people in the GDR. It includes famous East Germans discussing the “good old days” of socialism, some happy-go-lucky games in which the *Wessi* attempts to guess GDR facts from the *Ossi*, and, of course, a random *Trabbi*.⁷ However, these shows have come under a lot of fire for being inaccurate,

and portraying the GDR in such a way that detracts from the reality that was East Germany. Some of this criticism has even come from those who participated in perpetuating nostalgia. For example, the co-writers of the popular film *Sonnenallee*, which was based in the *Sonnenallee* area of East Berlin, criticized the “GDR TV shows” because they were not made by or for Eastern Germans, but rather produced and marketed towards those in the West. Even a small number of West Germans agreed with this criticism. The director of ZDF’s (*Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen*, Second German TV Station) *Ostgie Show*, Martin Keiffenheim, suggested that the media needs to move away from a focus on the Stasi files or the “economy of shortages” and focus more on the everyday life that many GDR citizens experienced (Cooke, 2005).

Along with the present focus on shows which depict life in the former GDR, directly after the *Wende* there was another move away from the West. This was, however, a consumer attempt at *Ostalgie*. Throughout the Honecker era, information about the plethora of goods available in the West, made the disparity of wealth in the East obvious to the people of the GDR. The post-*Wende* influx of goods caused reunification to not mark so much the dissolution of the Stasi police state, as the battle between the plenty of the West German consumer system and the scarcity of the East German system. It was also the pervasiveness of the FRG consumer culture that further defined the two. Many in the East, especially following the collapse of the Wall, were encouraged by western brands to “Test the West.” Yet, following reunification, consumers in the East, in an attempt to maintain their identity, began to increase their demands for GDR products. It was products such as *Rotkäppchen Sekt* and *Club Cola*, which allowed East German consumers to differentiate themselves, and their culture, from that of the FRG (Cooke, 2005). This use of food and drink as a defining factor and even reminder of home is something that is fairly congruent across time, space, and cultures. While a common, and perhaps overdone, trope, the idea of something being like ‘mother’s cooking,’ ‘home-style,’ or ‘homemade’ is perhaps not inaccurate as a means to understand the close connection between food and drink and one’s concept and understanding of identity and home. The resurging demand for these products in Germany also highlights how the redefinition, or perhaps destruction, of the GDR concept of home has influenced the desire to reconnect to this Eastern home. Yet the desire to reconnect and remember a divided house is not always shared by all.

A House Divided

Despite reunification and attempts to design a common home and congruent identity Germany in the 1990s had become increasingly disunited. With the rise of *Ostalgie* it has become increasingly obvious that a gap has grown between *Wessis* and *Ossis*. After the fever of reunification abated in the early 1990’s a sense on both sides of the metaphysical wall that there was no “One Germany” increased. Only a few short years after East Germans enrolled in speech classes in attempts to cast off their cacophonous accents in favor of western sounding High German, people on both sides became increas-

ingly disillusioned with the other. One West Berliner named Friedhelm Motzki, in frustration with his Eastern sister-in-law, spouted, "You've been Germans for three years now – how long will it take before you catch on?" (Heneghan, 2000). For pollsters these sentiments were all too real among the populous. In a 1990 poll taken by the Allensbach Institute of whether *Wessis* and *Ossis* agreed with the slogan "We are one people," 54% of those in the west agreed and 45% of those in the east agreed. However, the same poll taken in 1994 showed that while 47% of westerners still agreed with the slogan, the number in the east had plummeted to a mere 28% (Heneghan, 2000). This division within the nation and even within individual domiciles shows that while the attempt to rebuild the "German house" was at the minimum successful in brining two homes and identities under one roof, the differences established and fermented during division were not as easily overcome as the political division itself.

How can one understand this radical shift in sentiment following unification, as well as the ever-increasing pride in the former GDR of their communist past? This examination has thus far attempted to look at the ideas of home and the environment that makes up the wider home as having a significant impact on identity and feelings of belonging. Yet, perhaps the best model for understanding how all of this is taking place is to put the GDR within the context of a colonized nation. Rather than attempting to find a common home for East and West German identities one can seek to understand this belonging, or lack thereof, as a forced living arrangement with many of the negative connotations associated with such an organisation. One can see that both sides dealt with one another as the "other."² They even had differing names, which took on different meanings, namely *Ossi* and *Wessi*.

So, it is easy to see that they clearly dealt with the other in an "orient-type" fashion. This meant that both sides used the other in a way which defined what they were not. This is the same model used during colonialism to define the hierarchy of races. The FRG had used the GDR to define itself as not communist, not poor, as well as being civilized. At the same time, the GDR had used the FRG to show that they were not capitalist, not greedy, and not self-serving. This problem was exacerbated by the absorption of the GDR by the FRG. Many West Germans saw the GDR as a newly-freed colonial nation, one that was no longer under the yoke of Soviet oppression; but many East Germans felt reconquered by western neo-colonial powers. Historian Paul Cooke suggested that this is a way which the FRG can distance itself from its own dictatorial past, by portraying the GDR as an "Orient", this way the FRG could also further enforce its democratic character. Yet, all of this was done at the expense of the reality of life in the GDR (Cooke, 2005). This concept of colonisation is not quite as simple as one would traditionally understand colonisation, namely as the forced occupation or annexation of one land over another, but rather the socio-political inequality of one group over another. This concept is best summarised by Fritz Vilmar and Wolfgang Dümcke who argue, "Colonisation means, at its core, the economic and cultural dominance of one social structure in relation to another." (Dümcke and Vilmar, 1996). So, while the two Germanies sought to rebuild their divided house and find common ground as to what being German meant, the socio-political realities of the reunification process and the disparate economic situation between the two states resulted in a situation which brought the security and understanding of the East German home and identity into contention with the "New" German understanding of the same concepts.

If one examines and understands "home" as both an environmental and domicile space, where does that leave East Germans whose security in their domicile was oft threatened by reunification, and whose wider environment was radically changed in a physical and metaphysical sense; in as much as the land was there but the GDR as an entity had ceased to be. For one East German, this lack of place and confusion of identity left her essentially homeless. Jana Hensel experienced the *Wende* as a teenager and has since 1989 struggled with reconnecting with and redefining her memory of the GDR and her place in a reunified Germany. In her memoir, *After the Wall*, Jana recounts her confusion

as to the gravity of the Monday Demonstrations which she had attended with her mother, as well as her difficulty adjusting to life after the wall. For Jana, her memories of her home and childhood in Leipzig often came into conflict with the world which she saw around her when she came back to the city of her upbringing. She recounts how she would make a frame with her fingers and attempt to find a building or a scene which she could relate to and associate with her childhood, though often in vain (Hensel, 2002). Perhaps due to a combination of architectural change and memorial dissonance, Jana struggled to connect the environment which made up her home with any feeling or memory of home she had from her childhood.

In a later section, she describes an experience that she shared with her West German friend, Jan. While attending a football match at Berlin's Olympic Stadium, Jan explains to Jana how he found the discussion of the East-West divide quite overdone and often irrelevant. How did it relate to him, his memories, or his definition of home? Yet, during the same encounter that Jan criticizes the East's focus on a distinct historical memory and understanding of its now defunct home, he, after living in Berlin for near a decade would still root for his home team of Cologne. To Jan, and many people, their home is a natural and immutable part of their lives and identities (Hensel, 2002). Yet for Jana and many other East Germans their home had in fact mutated. No longer did the environment that they associated with home resemble that of their memories. In East Germany, the physical home had been remodeled and the metaphysical home had been reframed to support a common German memory and history. Due to these shifts, "home" for many East Germans the concept and understanding of home, as well as the effect that home has on forming one's identity, was more ethereal than natural.

Is Anyone Home?

Fully understanding the concept home and its effect on an individual or even a community is a difficult endeavour as the both meaning and impact vary on an individual and community basis. For Germany, this getting to the heart of this relationship is made even more difficult by Germany's divided past, in which the two rival states attempted to build two distinct variations of the German "home" and an accompanying self-understanding. For West Germans, the home changed little between 1945 and the present. The environment surrounding the home was stable and changed gradually along with the culture inhabiting it. East Germany, was not as fortunate. The authoritarian nature of the SED dictatorship permeated the environment surrounding the domicile, and the domicile itself, creating a lack of security for many within and without their homes. Following the collapse of this police state and German reunification, the socio-political realities that constituted the East German home were replaced with the western counterparts. This created a disconnect of what actually constituted the home and what it meant to be an East German. While this cognitive dissonance has slowly dissipated over previous two decades, there remains an entire generation whose identity and concept of home has vanished alongside the wall that had once divided their new "home."

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DOI: [10.20919/9780995786226/6](https://doi.org/10.20919/9780995786226/6)

1. "Trabbi" is short for *Trabant*, an iconic East German car.

2. "Other" refers to a historical method developed by Edward Said called *Orientalism*, which postulates that European societies use the "Orient" as a means of understanding themselves. Europeans define a different people as "other" and use that idea of other in order to define and understand themselves. It was often employed by colonial powers by over generalizing a people or race in order to better understand both parties.

7. From the inside looking out: travelling the world from the parlour. By Naomi Daw

In 1858, the Photographic Society of London and the Société Française de Photographie held the first exhibition of photographic works at the South Kensington Museum in London. The South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) had been established in 1852 following the Great Exhibition of 1851. The Photographic Society of London had been holding annual photography exhibitions as early as 1854, but the decision to move the exhibition from private spheres to a public museum reflected the increasing prominence and popularity of the photographic medium. At the 1858 exhibition, one thousand and nine photographs were on display, including two hundred and fifty works imported from the Société Française de Photographie in Paris. The range of subject matter on display at the exhibition was extensive, encompassing portraiture, landscape, architectural views, and reproductions of works of art. The exhibition was ambitious because of the range of subject matter on display and the rapidly increasing popularity of photography in the period. Photography's role as a new form of visual representation after the separate announcements of its invention in 1839 by Louis Daguerre (1787-1851) and William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877), added an extra layer of innovation to the 1858 exhibition at the South Kensington Museum. As Anne Maxwell (2000, p.9) notes, photographers were employed by exhibition managers to document exhibits, transforming the 'fleeting spectacles' into 'permanent, portable objects that could function as memorabilia and collectors' items'. The 1858 exhibition of photography at the South Kensington Museum is no exception to this process; indeed, the Victoria and Albert Museum holds many photographic records of the 1858 photography exhibition. The photographs of the exhibition produced by the engraver and photographer Charles Thurston Thompson (1816-1868) are particularly notable. One such [photograph](#) looks through the exhibition, showing the packed display of photographic material on the walls. In the centre of the photograph, and leading the eye through the image, are three tables, on which there are many different examples of the stereoscope on display, for the viewing of stereoscopic photographs. The inclusion of stereoscopes in the exhibition attests to the existing, and increasing, popularity of photography in 1858, and the increasing role that stereoscopic photography was playing in British popular culture.

It is this increasing role of stereoscopic photography in nineteenth century British popular culture that is the focus of my chapter in this book. In particular, I am interested in the relationship between stereoscopic photography and travel. How did people use the stereoscope to look out at the world from the familiar environment of the home? To what extent did they use the three-dimensional nature of the stereoscope to travel vicariously through the image in front of them? How does this process of vicarious travel impact upon the viewer's relationship with new places, new scenes, new peoples? Stereoscopic photography allowed the viewer to participate in these processes, individually and collectively, all from the comfort and safety of their own home. The stereoscopic photograph provides the viewer with visual access to travel sites, acting as what Joan Schwartz (1996, p.16) calls 'the pretexts of travellers and as a surrogate for travel'. Using a selection of five stereoviews from various publishers and dating from the period 1880-1910, my chapter seeks to address these questions, investigating the symbiotic relationship between travel, stereoscopic photography, and the home. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, a unique set of factors facilitated an explosion in popular print culture – including commercially printed photography such as stereoviews. In *Victorian Babylon* (2005, p.

151), Lynda Nead notes how 'technical developments in printing and the introduction of photography; fiscal changes to newspapers and periodical publishing; new forms of spectacular advertising; the rapid expansion of audiences and readerships; and the diversification of sites of leisure and entertainment' all positively impacted Victorian popular print culture. It was the introduction of different photographic technologies and fiscal changes to publishing that were to have the biggest effect on the proliferation of Victorian and Edwardian photographic culture.

In 1850, the journalist Leigh Hunt coined the phrase 'Taxes on Knowledge'. Here, he is referring to the taxes and excise duties that were placed on paper, much of which was imported to Britain in the mid-nineteenth century. Hunt argued that 'were the taxes on knowledge annihilated ... scores of cheap daily and weekly papers would start into existence' (Hunt, 1850, pp. 305), making visual and textual information more readily available to the British public. Hunt was tapping into a popular movement that resulted in the abolition of controversial excise duties on paper in 1861 by William Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. The popular movement for, and eventual abolition of, the 'Taxes on Knowledge' significantly reduced the costs of publishing for various parts of the popular press, and enabled the proliferation of commercial photographic printers in the late 1850s and 1860s. The major commercial photographic operations of companies such as Negretti & Zambra, F. Frith & Co., Underwood & Underwood, and the London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company all have their origins in the period of print culture proliferation we see in the 1850s and 1860s. The abolition of what Hunt terms 'Taxes on Knowledge' reduced the cost of mass-producing photographs for public consumption; commercial photographers would receive greater profits from printing their images on a large scale, and the reduction in costs would be directly passed on to the consumer. The proliferation of photographic culture occurs alongside other major changes in British culture in this period. Of particular relevance is the increase in travel we see in this period. The increased rail travel from the late 1830s onwards, and the establishment of travel operators in the 1840s, combined with increased sales of travel literature, began to open up the world to lower and middle class Britons. Thomas Cook ran his first British excursion to a temperance rally in 1841, the package including return rail travel for one shilling; by 1851 Cook was arranging for one hundred and fifty thousand people to visit the Great Exhibition and by 1855, he was arranging longer excursions to the continent. Travel guide publishers increased their English language publications in the 1860s. Between 1858 and 1868, fourteen new *Murray's Handbooks For Travellers* were published, covering locations as diverse as Devon and Cornwall, India, Germany, and Palestine. The publisher Karl Baedeker recognised the importance of the increasing number of British tourists in this period, publishing seven guides between 1863 and 1868, including guides for Switzerland, France, and Northern Italy. Indeed, the travel guide became so ubiquitous that the author E. M. Forster satirised its use in his novel *A Room With A View*, where the eccentric Miss Lavish tells Lucy that she 'hope[s] we shall soon emancipate you from Baedeker' (1908, pp. 16-17). But if Forster wanted people to be emancipated from the ever-present travel guide, they were by no means abandoning the travel views in their stereoscope. A combination of low prices, increased travel and literacy, and the popularity of the stereoscopic medium, meant that by 1900 Underwood & Underwood alone were printing over ten million stereoviews per year – over twenty-five thousand stereoviews published *per day*.

So, what is a stereoscope, and why might it be so popular? In 1838, the British scientist and inventor Sir Charles Wheatstone (1802-1875) gave a series of lectures at King's College, London, titled *Contributions to the Physiology of Vision*. The first part of his lecture series was given under the subtitle *On Some remarkable, and hitherto unobserved, Phenomena of Binocular Vision*, and focused on how humans see in three dimensions. Wheatstone (1838) noted the visual gap between the two eyes, which becomes clear when an 'object is placed so near the eyes that to view it the optic axes must converge'. As the object moves closer to the eye, the 'convergence of the optic axes becomes greater' and each

eye's view of the object increases in dissimilarity. By moving the object away from the eyes, the two dissimilar views converge and combine, deepening the sense of three dimensions seen by each individual eye. Wheatstone goes on to propose a stereoscopic viewer that would use mirrors and a viewer to mimic the convergence of each eye's vision to create a three-dimensional view. In his 1859 essay for *The Atlantic Monthly*, 'The Stereoscope and The Stereograph', the American polymath Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894) clearly described how the stereoscope worked in layman's terms. Our two eyes 'see different pictures of the same thing, for the obvious reason that they are two or three inches apart'. By 'means of these two different views of an object, the mind ... feels round it and gets an idea of its solidity', converting two flatt(er) images into three dimensions. Holmes emphasises how, through this process, 'we clasp an object with our eyes, as with our arms, or with our hands' (1859, pp. 738-748).

Wheatstone wrote to Fox Talbot in 1840 to propose the creation of stereoscopic images for use in his viewer, and so the first stereoscopic photographs were created. The Scottish physicist and inventor, Sir David Brewster (1781-1868), developed the principle of Wheatstone's cumbersome, mirror-based stereoscope, creating the first lens-based or 'lenticular' stereoscope in 1849. Following his collaboration with the French instrument maker Jules Duboscq (1817-1876) to improve the lens quality, Brewster demonstrated his lenticular stereoscope at the Great Exhibition in 1851. Here, he presented a stereoscope to Queen Victoria, who was enthralled by the effect of the stereoscope, and launched an overnight craze for three-dimensional views. In three months, Brewster sold over two hundred and fifty thousand lenticular stereoscopes to people from all social classes. As R. Hunt noted in an article for the *Art Journal* in 1858 this was a figure assisted by royal endorsement and the low cost of the stereoscope at only one shilling. The low price of the stereoscope brought the pleasures it afforded to all classes; its popularity coming from the viewer being charmed by the 'pleasure' of viewing the image in 'three dimensions' (Hunt, 1858, p. 305). The popularity of Brewster's stereoscope established its position as the most popular optical toy of the Victorian and Edwardian period. However, Brewster's stereoscope could be awkward to use, and cheaper versions of his stereoscope were made from *papier mâché*. Holmes created – and intentionally did not patent – a streamlined, handheld stereoscope in 1861. The Holmes stereoscope was made of wood, with an adjustable frame to hold the stereoview, and clear glass lenses inset into one end of the viewer. The handle for the Holmes stereoscope also folded down for convenience, and included a hood above the space through which the user looked. Indeed, Holmes noted himself that 'it was far easier to manage, especially with regard to light, and could be made much cheaper than the old-fashioned contrivances' (1952, p. 1). Reflecting on his adaptations to the stereoscope for *The Philadelphia Photographer* in 1869, Holmes confidently pointed out that 'there was not any wholly new principle involved in its construction, but, it proved so much more convenient than any hand instrument in use, that it gradually drove them all out of the field' (1952, p. 1). Holmes 'believed that it would add much to the comfort and pleasure of the lover of stereoscopic pictures', particularly in the domestic space, and it did.

Originally, stereoscopes were scientific tools, enabling the study of the physiology of vision by scientists such as Brewster and Hermann von Helmholtz (1821-1894), but they became tools of pleasure and entertainment. Empirically, stereoscopes are tools of spectacle and of surveillance. Jonathan Crary in *Techniques of the Observer* notes how the regimes of surveillance and spectacle coincide in the stereoscope, rather than being in opposition as Foucault argues (1990, p.18). Stereoscopes fed into the fashionable craze for images of travel and the quest for knowledge of other cultures and countries that was both educational and pleasurable. Significantly, in his book *The Stereoscope: Its History, Theory and Construction*, Brewster dedicates two whole chapters to the educational and pleasurable purposes of the stereoscope. In his chapter on the 'Application of the Stereoscope to Educational Purposes', Brewster argues that one of the key values of the stereoscope is as 'an indispensable auxiliary'

in education, enabling the student to 'acquire a general knowledge of the works of God and man ... of the miracles of nature and art' (1856, p. 193). Directly following this is Brewster's chapter on the 'Application of the Stereoscope to Purposes of Amusement'. Emphasising the scientific background of the stereoscope, Brewster proposes that 'every instrument depending on scientific principles, when employed for the purposes of amusement must necessarily be instructive'. After all, for Brewster, the 'toy which amuses the child will instruct the sage' (1856, p. 201). Travel views in the stereoscope may seem, at first glance, to be 'pretty scenes', but the subject of the travel stereoview provide an excellent prism through which viewers can explore the world and their preconceptions, all from the safety and comfort of their own home.

Stereoscopic images viewed in a stereoscope produce a three-dimensional optical illusion from two flat images, placed next to each other. In a photographic stereoscope, two photographs are taken of the same scene, at eye-width apart. This was done by moving one camera two to three inches to the side of the first photograph; later, stereoscopic cameras enabled photographers to take the two images simultaneously. The images are placed next to each other, and when the viewer looks at them through the stereoscope, their mind bridges the gap between the two images, forming an image that appears to be in three dimensions. For Helmholtz, the two discrete photographs of the same object seen by the 'two distinct nerves' of the viewer's eyes were a means to explore the amazing feats of human sight (1995, p.175). The mathematician William O. Lonie (1822-1894) described in 1856 how the stereoscope had a 'purpose as an instrument for the creation of solid images' because it blurred together 'the plane pictures of any object or landscape, previously taken from the two points of sight correspond[ed] with the retinal pictures taken from nature by our two eyes' (1856, pp.9-10). Here, Lonie highlights the emphasis on stereoscopic vision (using both eyes together) present in a stereoscope as opposed to the emphasis on monoscopic vision (using each eye separately) in instruments such as the telescope or microscope. To the naked eye, stereoviews are monocular, yet when mediated through the stereoscope, the two images blend and mix, transforming into one image. As such the stereoscope 'seemingly annuls itself because its effect inverts its cause or origin; two photographs seen with two eyes give one image'. The view produced by a stereoscope is, therefore, an illusion, an optical trick, that immerses the viewer in a three-dimensional scene. The three-dimensional scene created from two flat photographs in the stereoscope draws attention to the phenomenon of depth of field and shows the potential for manipulating what the eye sees (Smith, 1989, p.86).

The creation of visual depth in the stereoview is particularly evident in *Falls from Suspension Bridge, Niagara* (Fig. 1; c1880). This stereoview is a photograph of Niagara Falls, Canada, taken from the Niagara Suspension Bridge, which was open between 1851 and 1897. The right-hand side of the image shows the paddle steamer, the *Maid of the Mist*, moving across Lake Ontario towards Niagara Falls, from the jetty on the left. The Falls themselves dominate the back of the image, where we can clearly see the mist rising from water crashing upon water. In the far distance, we can see the treeline behind Lake Erie. The direction of the *Maid of the Mist* and the line of the Falls, from left foreground receding into far right background, pulls the viewer's eye through the image and reinforces the sense of depth of field. It is a dramatic image that transports the viewer from their safe, comfortable home world to the dramatic landscape around Niagara Falls. It is a spectacular image, designed to amaze the viewer with a depiction of a dramatic landscape that would, for many contemporary viewers, have been outside their ordinary realm of experience. Landscape views like *Falls from Suspension Bridge, Niagara* were immensely popular with the viewing public. A glance at any catalogue of stereoscopic views shows how much emphasis was placed on landscapes and locations that were distinctly different – if not completely exotic to – the viewer's home location. Indeed, the illusory nature and immense popularity of the stereoscope facilitated the viewing of landscapes, like *Falls from Suspension Bridge, Niagara*, that were inherently different to the British landscape and visual experience. In *Binocular Vision*

and *Stereopsis*, Ian Howard emphasises how 'until the advent of the cinema, the stereoscope was the optical wonder of the age, allowing people to see the world from the comfort of their living rooms' (1995, p. 22). Lindsay Smith notes how the popularity of the stereoscope 'brought the spectacle of foreign landscape[s] to the British hearth' (1995, p. 8).

Contemporary users of the stereoscope highlighted the spectacularly immersive nature of the stereoscope. The experience of using the stereoscope was described by Albert Osborne in 1909 as 'that of being in the place itself, rather than an experience of being in our home seeing a picture of the place' (1909, p. 74). Viewers were intellectually, mentally, and visually transported from their home to the location of the stereoview. Stereoviews like *Falls from Suspension Bridge, Niagara* therefore become a substitute for the place depicted before the viewer. By looking through the stereoscope at an image of Niagara Falls, the viewer becomes socially and spatially separated from their 'normal place of residence and conventional social ties'; they are separated from their home (Urry, 1990, p. 10). This social and spatial separation is reinforced by the very process of looking through the stereoscope. The stereoscope is held close to the face, and has a hood occluding the viewer's peripheral vision. The hood prevents the viewer's eyes from picking up the outside world, focussing the mind on the world within the stereoscope. In *Falls from Suspension Bridge, Niagara*, frame is therefore removed from the image, blurring the boundary between viewer and scene, placing them in the image. Thus, the viewer is 'drawn into the intensified illusion of all-round, deep and receding space' of Niagara Falls, becoming willing participants in a 'vivid imaginary transportation' into the replicated space of the stereoview (Osborne, 2000, p. 20). The viewer therefore occupies a space within a space: the replicated space of the stereoscope, looking out on to the world, situated within the real space of the domestic environment.

The imaginary transportation of the viewer into the replicated space of the stereoview is not confined to photographs taken at a distance. For example, in *Prospect Park, Niagara* (Fig. 2, 1880s), the viewer is transported through the stereoscope to a position at the edge of the Falls. The line of the waterfall moves up the centre of the image into the background. The water flows dramatically over the Falls from Lake Erie on the left to Lake Ontario on the right. The emphasis of the stereoscope is on the flow of water over the sheer drop of the waterfall. When the viewer looks at the stereoview through the stereoscope, they can see individual waves, flows of water, dips in the edge of the Falls, and separate drops of water. This intense representation of detail in *Prospect Park, Niagara* draws the viewer into the image, into the spectacle of the water passing over the Falls, from one lake into another. *Prospect Park, Niagara* is a moment frozen in time, frozen for eternity. Photographs like *Prospect Park, Niagara* arrest time, they encapsulate one moment: a process described by Emmanuelle Lévinas as 'the petrification of the instant'. In his reference to Niobe, and the 'presentiment of [her] fate' at being turned into stone, Lévinas also identifies for us the central paradox at the centre of photography – a 'quality of the already having been of that which is yet to come' (Lévinas, 1989, pp. 10-11).

In *Prospect Park, Niagara*, the Falls are frozen in a moment, which will now continue forever. Thus, this stereoview can be seen as the perfect embodiment of what the photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908-2004) termed the 'decisive moment'. For Cartier-Bresson, the 'decisive moment' in photography is the 'simultaneous recognition, in a fraction of a second, of the significance of an event as well as of a precise organisation of forms which give that event its proper expression' (1952, pp. 1-14). Time is suspended both for the Falls and for the viewer. One expects the waterfall to move, but it does not, invoking in the viewer a feeling of nervousness and terror: they are visually and temporally 'on the edge' of Niagara Falls. Suspension is a theme in this stereoview. The viewer, fully immersed in the scene in front of them, is suspended in time as well as at the edge of Niagara Falls. This suspension at the edge of the Falls induces a feeling of awe and wonder at the power of Niagara Falls in the viewer. From the comfort of their own home, from the commanding prospect of the stereoview, the viewer

looks out over Niagara Falls, with a mixture of awe, wonder, and terror. This cacophony of feelings the viewer experiences when looking at *Prospect Park, Niagara* therefore provokes in the viewer a sense of the Sublime. The Sublime is a feeling of awe, wonder, and terror at the greatness and power of the natural world. In 1756, the philosopher Edmund Burke (1729-1796) published his influential treatise on aesthetics, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. Here, Burke clearly defined the notion of the Sublime, proposing that it is:

Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, what is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling. (Burke, 1756, pp. 58-9).

The Sublime, therefore, is a direct contrast with Burke's concept of the Beautiful, which he describes as that 'satisfaction which arises to the mind upon the contemplation of anything beautiful' (Burke, p. 162). Because *Prospect Park, Niagara* provokes feelings of terror about the power of Niagara Falls, the power of the natural world, in the viewer, the scene recreated in the stereoview is therefore Sublime. The social and spatial separation the viewer experiences when they look through the stereoscope at *Prospect Park, Niagara* heightens the feeling of the Sublime in the viewer, because they are being separated from the safety of the domestic space.

Burke's division of aesthetics into the Sublime and the Beautiful is presented as a dichotomy, where there are two distinct and diametrically opposed categories, with nothing in between. In 1768, the Rev. William Gilpin published his *Essay on Prints*, where he developed the ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful proposed by Burke, and first introduced his ideas about the picturesque. For Gilpin, visual concepts like the Sublime and the Beautiful were not clearly divided, discrete, extreme categories. The Sublime and the Beautiful were, in fact, on a sort of 'slider', blending from one to the other. The picturesque could be neatly placed on this slider, somewhere between the Sublime and the Beautiful. The term 'picturesque' had been used as early as 1703, and quite literally meant 'in the manner of a picture, fit to be made into a picture' (Oxford English Dictionary). In his essay on prints, Gilpin defined the picturesque as 'a term expressive of that particular kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture' (Gilpin, 1768, p. xii). J. M. W. Turner's *The Chancel and Crossing of Tintern Abbey* (1794) and Claude Lorrain's *Landscape with Ascanius Shooting the Stag of Sylvia* (1682), are significant examples of the use of the picturesque in painting. In his 1782 travel book, *Observations on the River Wye*, Gilpin applied his notion of the picturesque to the British landscape, on a journey that would become known as The Wye Tour. With Gilpin's definition of the picturesque in mind, how can we apply this concept to the stereoview? For example, *Rugged Mount Abu, S.W. from Dilwarra Temples – Palace of Raja of Bikanir in the Distance* (1890s, Fig. 3), can be clearly categorised as a picturesque image.

In *Rugged Mount Abu*, the stereoscopic viewer is presented with a view of the rural landscape around Dilwara temples in southwestern Rajasthan, India. Though rocky, the landscape rolls from the foreground into the background, with boulders and brush visible. A row of palm trees sweeps from the top left to the centre of the image. In the centre of the photograph, in the middle ground, are some cows and goats with their attendants. A large gully cuts diagonally across the image, leading the viewer's eye from near to far distance, where we can see the top of the Jain temples in the back of the photograph. The depiction of the landscape around Dilwara fits with Gilpin's description of 'picturesque beauty', which:

We seek ... among all the ingredients of landscape – trees – rocks – broken-grounds – woods – rivers – lakes – plains – vallies – mountains – and distances. These objects *in themselves* produce infinite variety. No two rocks, or trees are exactly the same. They are varied, a second time, by *combination*; and almost as much, a third time, by different *lights, and shades*, and other aerial effects. Sometimes we find among them the exhibition of *a whole*; but oftener we find only beautiful *parts*. (Gilpin, 1792, p. 42, original emphasis preserved)

These individual elements, such as trees, rocks, and broken ground, can be seen in *Rugged Mount Abu*, making the image picturesque. For Gilpin, the best way to represent the picturesque is to think of the concept as the 'great object we pursue through the scenery of nature; and examine ... by the rules of painting' (Gilpin, 1792, p. 42). As a stereoview, *Rugged Mount Abu* does have a painterly quality to it. The layout of the scene presented to us is reminiscent of William Hodges' painting *Tomb and Distant View of the Rajmahal Hills* (1782). Like *Rugged Mount Abu*, Hodges' painting includes palm trees, a rugged, broken landscape, and flocks of cattle.

Hodges' painting, and *Rugged Mount Abu*, invite the viewer to make comparison between the landscape presented to them and the landscape in which they are located. Gilpin's description of the picturesque was based on an analysis of the British landscape - his home landscape. Both images present a romanticised view of the East, from a pleasing, commanding prospect that places the landscape under the visual control of the viewer. *Rugged Mount Abu* can be placed within a process of making India Romantic, picturesque, reminiscent of the English landscape; a process epitomised by the aquatints of India produced by Thomas and William Daniell. It can be directly compared to Romanticised, picturesque views of the English landscape produced by artists like John Constable and J. M. W. Turner. Thus, *Rugged Mount Abu* simultaneously reminds the viewer of home, and reinforces the exoticism of the landscape of Rajasthan. It is both like, and not like, the British home landscape; it is a distilled image, a symbol of Indian rural-ness, exotic, Orientalised, 'Other'. The Orientalised view of Rajasthan in *Rugged Mount Abu* has its basis in the establishment of imperial India as fundamentally 'Other', fundamentally different, to the home of the British viewer. The viewer of the stereoscope watches the scene ahead of them: as Edward Said posits, 'the European, whose sensibility tours the Orient, is a watcher, never involved, always detached ... The Orient becomes a living tableau' (Said, 1976, p. 103). Like *Prospect Park, Niagara*, the stereoview of *Rugged Mount Abu* is simultaneously moving and still; it is a frozen moment, where the instant has been petrified. *Rugged Mount Abu* presents to the viewer an Indian rural idyll, frozen in time at the moment of the photograph. This is a rural idyll the viewer would be able to compare to their preconceived mental images of the stereotypical rural idyll at home. *Rugged Mount Abu* thus represents a desire for British viewers to recreate a 'home away from home', looking for elements of the landscape and people that are familiar from home, in order to make them safer, understandable, comprehensible. The image is not moving; its stillness makes it non-threatening and adds a level of safety to the image. Its stillness allows the viewer time to contemplate the exotic scene, in the virtual space created by the stereoscope from the safety of their home,

Gilpin's reference to 'different *lights, and shades*, and other aerial effects' (Gilpin, 1792, p. 42) in terms of the picturesque becomes particularly relevant in the context of *Rugged Mount Abu*. The photograph is monochrome, so the light and dark shading becomes particularly significant for the representation of detail. The light level in the photograph gives a high level of contrast between light and shadow, emphasising the details in the image. Indeed, in his essay *The Churches of North France: The Shadows of Amiens*, the artist and social thinker William Morris described how:

I am describing [the churches] as well as I can from such photographs as I have; and these, as everybody knows, though very distinct and faithful, when they show anything at all, yet, in some places, where the shadows are deep, show simply nothing. They tell me, too, nothing whatever of the colour of the building; in fact, their brown and yellow is as unlike as possible to the grey of Amiens. So, for the facts of form, I have to look at my photographs; for facts of colour I have to try and remember the day or two I spent at Amiens, and the reference to the former has considerably dulled my memory of the latter. (Morris, 1856, n.p).

For Morris, photography aids the representation and remembering of detail – if not the colours – of a location. Thus, *Rugged Mount Abu* presents us with the fine detail of the Indian landscape, but requires the viewer to fill in the colours of the image based on their prior knowledge of the Indian landscape. This is knowledge that they would have gained from literary works based in India, such as Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901) or *The Jungle Book* (1894), or Murray's *Guide to India* (various dates from 1859 onwards). The incredibly fine detail shown in *Rugged Mount Abu* makes the landscape almost tangible. This deepens the stereoscope's role as a tactile object, designed to be held, touched, investigated, passed around. The created space within the stereoscope becomes tactile. The stereoscope is already a tactile object – the user handles the cards, and places them in the viewer, which is handheld and not free-standing. Like the items in the home around them that they could touch, the Victorian and Edwardian viewer could almost reach out and touch the items in the stereoscope.

When the viewer looks through the stereoscope, the image is represented to them in layers, much like the pieces of a stage set; a stage set they can almost - but not quite - touch. This multi-layered, tactile aspect of the stereoscope reinforces the performative nature of the stereoscope. *Rugged Mount Abu* is a landscape that is performing Romantic, exotic ideals of the Indian landscape. Views within the stereoscope – from Canada to India to Britain – allow for a performance of people's personal ideas about the world around them. Stereoscope views provided ordinary Victorians and Edwardians with the opportunity to look out at the world, to explore an ever-expanding world, from the safety of their own home. The stereoscope allowed the user to explore ideas of the Sublime, the picturesque, the Beautiful in three dimensions. This safe, three-dimensional space allowed viewers to explore and perform ideas of Empire and exploration. Still images in the space of the stereoscope quite literally froze and suspended time, the decisive moments providing excellent opportunities for the viewer to question, to find out more, to push the boundaries of their domestic world by looking out. The stereoscope brought the world into the home and the home into the world, breaking the boundaries between countries and landscapes, what Kipling describes in his poem *East Is East and West is West* (1889): 'there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth ... though they come from the ends of the earth!'



Fig. 8: Falls from Suspension Bridge, Niagara



Fig. 9: Falls from Suspension Bridge, Niagara

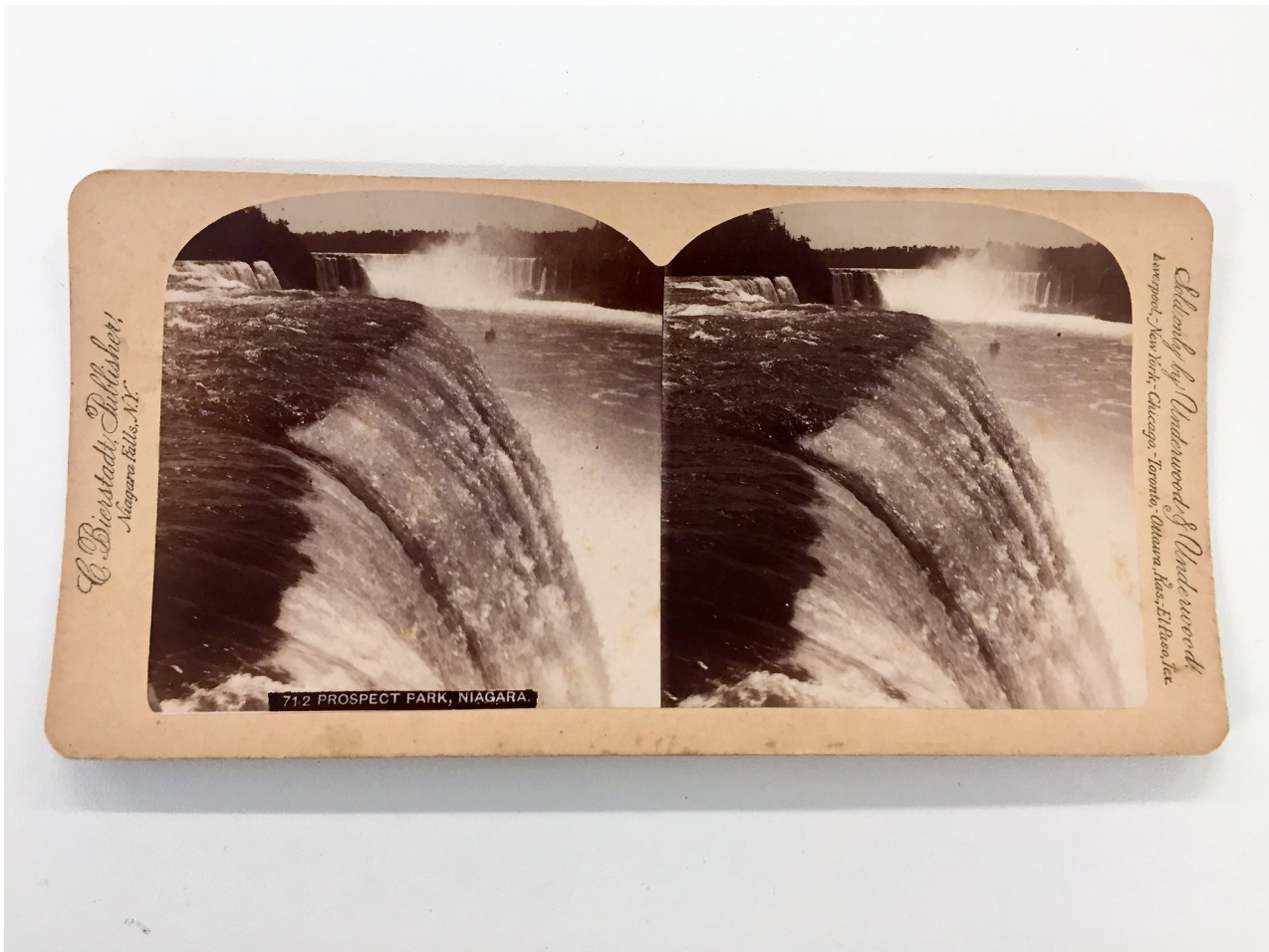


Fig. 10: Prospect Park Niagara



Fig. 11: Prospect Park Niagara



Fig. 12: Dilwara

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DOI: [10.20919/9780995786226/7](https://doi.org/10.20919/9780995786226/7)

8. Sonic microgeographies and histories: life listening & home. By Tom Ottway

Overview

This chapter considers theories of space and place in a broad philosophical sense (de Certeau, Lefebvre, Bachelard,) particularly in relation to the urban. It then focuses on readings of these theories in the context of home, identity and alienation (Blunt & Dowling, 2006) and other humanistic geographers, and gendered readings on space and place in terms of home, identity, belonging and alienation. It then moves on to present attempts at creative composition of the city and mediation of technology concerning creative composition (composition; literally with position, or emplacement), and also mediation of technology with regard to space, place and specifically home/alienation. The notion of home, by its complex and fluid nature, encompasses a wide range of fields and theories, stretching its tentacles and influence eclectically into geography, history, sociology, urban studies, anthropology, architecture, feminism, law, and migration studies. Given its genesis in multiple areas, this research aims firstly to provide a brief theoretical overview of how home has been simultaneously imagined and appropriated in different ways, often to political ends: indeed the story of home and the right to belong, it could be argued, is partly the story of the struggle for power itself (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, p. 526). Having provided a contextual theoretical background, it then narrows the scope and focus of its study of home in a specific geographical locale: the city of Brighton & Hove, principally through the lens of sonic art and group (and auto-) ethnography of co-authors, relating to the process of co-creating an intervention on what constitutes 'home' in the Great Sussex Book Sprint on Home

Research questions:

What is the role and potential of the sonic in relation to the other senses, in 'doing' critical geographies of home, as compositions in and of the experience of 'home' in general and specifically living in the city of Brighton & Hove ?

How does (auto-) ethnography contribute to the process of effective gathering, composition and dissemination of 'sonic' home?

Questions of Space, Place and Home

Established theories of space and place have informed the debate on the meaning of home, as a feature of space: most notably de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), where the writer emphasises, in the act of embodiment and walking, the importance of narrative over data or maps; Lefebvre's more overtly political rejection of the notion of empty space in *The Production of Space*, who sees 'lived space' as being continually repressed by authority in its creation of homogenised 'conceived space'; Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space*, which privileges the imagination in the construction of home, and its objects as being loaded with significance and story; and the Bollnow's lesser-known and

somewhat idiosyncratic *Human Space* (2011), where he delves into multiple meanings of space, across eclectic fields of study, pronouncing that all of man's movements revolve essentially around "going and returning... [removing] himself from the centre of his space... [and attempting to return] home (p80)."

David Seamon, in his 1979 book *A Geography of the Lifeworld*, takes a phenomenological approach to geography itself. Perhaps recalling Bollnow, whom he refers to elsewhere, he organises his analysis into movement and rest. Movement considers phenomena which he describes as body ballets (essentially body-subject routines and habits), and place ballets (where people come together to make use of the same space, perhaps interacting on the street for a chat). The section on rest, where 'people are relatively fixed in space and place (1979: p65)' on the other hand is devoted largely to home, with a strong nod to Bachelard and the imaginings of home and inhabited space. Home is phenomenologically complex, and understandably hard to pin down or describe, as is phenomenology itself. Seamon quotes Herbert Spiegelberg from 1971:

"Phenomenology begins in silence. Only he who has experienced genuine perplexity and frustration in the face of the phenomena when trying to find the proper description for them knows what phenomenological seeing really means" (Seamon, 1979, p. 20)

It is perhaps telling that Spiegelberg uses the metaphor of sound before then converting it to that of sight and seeing. Interestingly, Seamon uses a home metaphor in attempting to explain body and place choreographies, stating: 'Body-subject houses complex behaviours extending over considerable portions of time as well as space' (1979, p.54). Equally, we might argue that houses embody, or are sites of, complex behaviour, underlining how we tend to search for metaphors when dealing with the phenomenological. Hence, by adopting careful listening to the narratives of home, and re-presenting/com-posing them (see methodology below), they help to answer the complex question of what home means to different people at different times.

After being largely neglected by Marxism and spatial scientists, humanistic geographers emphasised the importance of home, albeit with a tendency to romanticise the notion, and with insufficient explanation as to the link between social structures and how place is experienced, as argued by the geographers Blunt & Dowling in 2006. They state instead that home should be 'conceptualized as processes of establishing connections with others and creating a sense of order and belonging as part of rather than separate from society', and in doing so, they recognise that the 'the ways in which men and women, people in different societies, and the young and old, create, perceive and experience dwelling [have not been] recognized' (2006, p.14). Exactly how these 'connections' should or could be made, or how a 'sense of order' could be constructed a decade later is unclear. If anything, the rhetoric of governments in 2016-17 in the UK and the US. has sought to create further divisions and fractures in society, following seismic events such as 'Brexit, in the UK' and the rise of the self-consciously amoral right as epitomised by Trump in the US.

The 'hypernormalisation' Adam Curtis refers to in his eponymous 2016 film could be applied to the context of the UK today in terms of the gradual habituation in the media of so called anti-foreigner rhetoric, where many headlines and arguments verge on the outright racist. Evidence of the prolifera-

tion of such rhetoric can be found in the recent IRR article 'Post-referendum racism and xenophobia: The role of social media activism in challenging the normalisation of xeno-racist narratives', which refers to the 2013 'GO HOME or face arrest' campaigns organised by Theresa May, when Home Secretary (bringing a new twist to the name and the role, it might be argued).

Below I explain further how I respond to this gap in research: how connections could be made and a sense of order and disentangling achieved and articulated

Home and the Migrant Experience: the sedentary and mobile

Although migration, home and belonging are not the main focus of this research, a close analysis of theoretical research on the migrant experience in relation to home provides a useful theoretical perspective on home in general and theories outlined above. Some see home-making or home-building as 'an affective edifice constructed out of affective building blocks (blocks of homely feelings)' (Hage 1997, p.102) in (Levin, 2016, p.26) Migration, Settlement, and the Concepts of House and Home (2016) distinguishes between 'house' as a physical form and 'home' as denoting a 'meta-physical emotional idea' for migrants, with 'both jointly creat[ing] a sense of belonging in a new land' (28). In contrast, (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011) critique the tendency to consider home as a 'sedentary' concept:

"... a fixed, bounded and discreet place. Inspired by philosophical writings on the power of place-attachments (Bachelard 1958; Casey 1993, 1998; Heidegger 1971), this approach examines the ways a sense of home plays an important role in grounding people to a particular place, a place like no other" (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, p518).

Providing a useful overview of the various ways in which home has been conceptualised, and rejecting the notion of it as something which is purely fixed, and to which feelings or objects can be attached, they postulate that it "merges out of the regular, localising reiteration of social processes and sets of relationships with both humans and non-humans" (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, pp519-20). Home is thus located, but not limited to a particular locale; it is sedentary and mobile. (Miller, 2001)

They also note how the notion of the 'return' home has tended to be over-romanticised in the case of the migrant experience, where such homecomings rarely tend to live up to expectations. Referencing Conway in 2005, they note that the "much-discussed 'myth of return' is a symptom of some migrants' ongoing search for a stable sense of self in a world often characterised as in flux" (p522) but acknowledge that many find their return to be 'unsettling' [authors' emphasis] and therefore need to 'articulate [their] liminal status as both insiders and outsiders'. Referring to an earlier work of Ralph's (2009) the authors note how:

"Through the interplay between home's mobile and moored features, returnees begin to articulate the disjuncture, and even antagonism, between the actual and the idealised

meanings with which they had imbued home and their identification with it." (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, p522)

This research throws a negative light on Bollnow's earlier and perhaps somewhat simplistic argument that all of movements as humans are based on return, since this journey replicates the desire to reconstruct the comforts of the conditions of our mothers' womb (2011). However, it also emphasises the importance of humans' quests, which often feature the urge to return, no matter how ill-advised or fraught with difficulties this may be.

Fascinatingly, from a sonic point of view, Ralph and Staeheli conclude by suggesting that the migrant experience of home can be best described using a musical instrument metaphor:

"Home is like an accordion, in that it both stretches to expand outwards to distant and remote places, while also squeezing to embed people in their proximate and immediate locales and social relations. We contend that the fixed and fluid components of home must be viewed as enmeshed and working together, without marginalising either of these qualities. Recognising home as at once grounded and uprooted highlights the often-overlooked dissonance between the lived and the desired meanings with which people imbue the notion (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, p525).

Finally, they call for "efforts to carve out alternative models of home [which] can unsettle normative constructions, and draw attention to the fundamentally fragile and porous nature of reified social representations of home", (p525).

Brighton, Home and the Migrant Experience

Migration in Brighton & Hove might be said to take a number of forms: in addition to those who have come to Brighton, for example, as asylum seekers (see *Migrants Brighton: Life Stories* (2012), or found themselves homeless (*Picture the Change: Repeat Homelessness in Brighton* (2015)), there are other sub-groups such as those who migrate internally in the UK from London, perhaps seeking a more relaxed, slightly cheaper version of their past lives, with the possibility of a commute to the capital if necessary. Furthermore, since I am adopting an (auto-) ethnographical approach, much of my own narrative and experiences are usefully included.

Brighton & Hove appears to be a popular choice as a place to live. Though robust and up-to-date data on what makes Brighton a desirable place in which to live is somewhat elusive, and is perhaps necessarily subjective, a web search yielded the perception that it is at least considered by the press to be an attractive location to work in with a 2016 article in the *Guardian* claiming that Brighton & Hove is the 4th 'Happiest' place in the U.K. to work (*Guardian*, 2016). However, interestingly a recent survey has the city ranked at 109th in Best Places to live in the UK, down 35 places in one year, largely due to a fall in what it claims to be living standards and costs (*USwitch*, 2015). While hardly an exact science, this reinforces my experience (and that of people I know) that the city is an expensive one. These subjective 'temperature checks' may, however, provide a useful starting point for interview questions to test these perceptions. As a coastal location, close to France and the Continent, it has obvious physi-

cal links beyond the UK. Today, it is a popular destination for a particular type of migrant-visitor: the tourist and the language student (BHConnected 2014:p137). Some participants in the fieldwork could be labelled 'migrants'; the Migrant Report of 2001 states: 'A migrant is defined as a person whose address one year before the census was different from their address on census day,' underlining just how subjective such a category can be.

In official studies of the city, large numbers said they felt they belonged (see BHConnected 2014). While these findings are rather simplistic, it is interesting to note that the local council is attempting to measure its residents' wellbeing and sense of belonging.

Critical Geographies: Mapping and Doing Home, Creating Ethnographic Homecomings and Culture

In 'Home and Migration: Mobilities, Belongings and Identities', Ralph and Staeheli argue that 'by telling a story of movement and transformation, it becomes possible to understand home, identity and belonging in a more nuanced way' (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). Stating that any discussions about home and belonging are inevitably ones about power and who wields it, they call for "alternative models of home [that] can unsettle normative constructions, and draw attention to the fundamentally fragile and porous nature of reified social representations" (2011: p526). Similarly, in her overview of critical geographies of home, following and explicitly referencing Blunt and Dowling's coining of the phrase in 2006, Brickell makes an impassioned plea for academics (herself included) not only to 'map' home from the relative safety of their ivory towers but also to 'do' home:

"The mounting professional onus on academics to directly 'get out there' and 'do' something (Castree, 1999) to challenge negative expressions of home needs to be balanced against their bringing to light of affected people's own forays into the politicization and publicization of domestic issues" (Brickell, 2012, p. 246).

Brickell's important account includes a detailed critical inventory of how home has been re-conceptualised and the balance redressed in recent years: from a place of presumed sanctuary and stability in the idealised eyes and perceived warm glow of the humanistic geographers of the 1970s and 1980s, to the notion today of home as something far more complex and possibly problematic. Referencing Badgett and Folbre, 1999; Olwig, 1998; and Young, 1997, she highlights the importance of feminist critiques of home as highlighting home as a "potential site of struggle and conflict" (p226).

Brickell wisely acknowledges the importance of Blunt & Dowling's three-pronged conceptualization of home, which continues to be seen as an important milestone in home studies today (and which I discuss and apply later), imploring the:

"(re)visioning [of] a more complex and fluid understanding of the home which emerges from deliberate or unintentional disruptions to home places and sentiments at different scales and times. Considering in more depth what the 'critical' in 'critical geographies of home' implies, and how as researchers we 'do' this geography, I take my lead from the insightful review of Home by Cathrine Brun (2008: p565) who sets out a challenge, that "we

should perhaps ask what our responsibilities as researchers in doing critical geographies of home are?" (Brickell, 2012, p227).

She then describes the work of academics, such as Caleb Johnston and Geraldine Pratt, who in 2010 transformed their research data which consisted of testimonies into performed installations:

"Stimulating interest around an important social issue, at the same time as evoking an emotional visceral response from audience members, this innovative approach demonstrates how novel pathways could be furthered by scholars of home who are keen to consider the transformative potential of their research in order to lobby for change" (Brickell, 2012, p235).

It is precisely this 'transformative' element that I have attempted to capture here in my theory-practice research, which tells the story of people's highly complex and nuanced experiences of home. In this micro study of home I am considering the Book Sprint participants as multiple selves: academics, actors (of home), human beings constantly experiencing as well as reflecting and writing about home; there is no attempt nor need to separate out these porous selves. In doing so I am acknowledging the importance of ethnographies of home.

In 'Breaking Habits and Cultivating Home' (2002) Lesa Lockford argues that ethnographic research is far more than simply collecting data; it is entering the realm of the subject in a state of 'somatic' empathy, and, interestingly from the point of view of homecomings, states that once we do this 'we cannot return home'. She expands on this metaphor of home:

"Moving into unfamiliar terrain whether as reader, as researcher, or as audience member is bound to entail resistance ... are we willing to give up the familiarity of our "home" and overcome resistance in order to inhabit the unfamiliar? In what ways do our comfortable habits affect our appreciation of different homes and homelands? ...do we defensively dig in and resist shifting our intellectual ground (ground in which we have perhaps grown too cozy and insular), even if making that move might mean expanding to new and wider horizon of experience?" (Lockford, 2002, p85).

Lockford also usefully defines culture as "the event or events we cultivate ... collectively constituted through the construction, the deconstruction, and the reconstruction of the edifices in which we physically, as well as spiritually, imaginatively, and psychologically, dwell" (2002, p17).

As for the micro historical approach, Kilday and Nash (2017, p4) set out how this might be applied to the field of history, crime, law and society, an approach which I believe is equally applicable to any interdisciplinary area:

We would especially argue for the benefits produced, by actively linking such studies or narratives together. This method looks at a specific narrative case or incident closely in context and works outwards to provide both 'thick description' and analysis of the case in relation to the wider history of crime, law and society. In the past, some successful previous book-length attempts have been made to self-consciously use micro-history to study conflict and areas that might be considered related to

the history of crime. Though a little dated now, Robert Darnton's *The Great Cat Massacre* remains something of a trailblazer in this respect, with its evocation of eighteenth-century Parisian episodes of conflict and exploration of cultural transactions and meanings. However, the studies within this book are very disparate and scarcely any of the stories relate to the single theme of law and crime - perhaps readily apparent in the book's subtitle 'Episodes in French Cultural History'

Theoretical framework: sound, the sonic and home

The role of the sonic in the construction of home in the city has been very much overlooked due to a focus on the other senses, especially the visual. Notable exceptions of theoretical studies of the sonic in some way related to home are Tecchi's ethnographic research on radio and silence in the construction of the domestic soundscape (Miller, 2002) demonstrating how both contribute to the textured soundscapes of home; various projects in Belfast using sound (and song) to heal political divisions in the city (Ouzounian, 2013), the brief but effective incorporation of the sonic in installation art - see Michael Landy's 2004 *Semi Detached* in the Tate Gallery, and Kytö's thesis (2013) 'Sounds like home: Crossings of private and common urban acoustic space' in which she adopts an ethnomusicological and sound studies approach to notions of shared space, most significantly from my point of view, focusing on how groups of football supporters in Istanbul construct an acoustic community through chants and songs. The highest profile sonic artist who has engaged with the role of the sonic in the city is 2010 Turner Prize-winning artist Susan Philipsz, whose 'Surround Me' uses the sound of the artist's own voice singing songs which are installed amongst architecture and ambient noise in various urban locations, to create often mournful installed pieces in dead or dormant spaces to powerful, lyrical effect.

However, there has been no explicit attempt to map the site and space of the city sonically in terms of its multi-layered nature, of which alienation is a feature, in order to disentangle the multiple narratives that serve to construct it. In doing so I am attempting to capture what Labelle calls the "micro geography of the moment":

"...sound opens up a field of interaction, to become a channel, a fluid, a flux of voice and urgency, of play and drama, of mutuality and sharing, to ultimately carve out a micro-geography of the moment [...] this makes sound a significant model for also thinking and experiencing the contemporary condition, for as a relational spatiality global culture demands and necessitates continual reworking. It locates us within an extremely animate and energetic environment that, like auditory phenomena, often exceeds the conventional parameters and possibilities of representation" (Labelle, 2010, pxvii).

I intend to adopt and adapt Blunt & Dowling's conceptual framework on home and then to incorporate the sonic:

"[Firstly] a spatialized understanding of home, one that appreciates home as a place and also as a spatial imaginary that travels across space and is connected to particular sites.

Second [...] a politicized understanding of home, one alert to the processes of oppression and resistance embedded in ideas and processes of home. [...] draw[ing] out three components of a critical geography of home: home as simultaneously material and imaginative; the nexus between home, power and identity; and home as multi-scalar". (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p22)

The authors also note the importance of Daniel Miller's concepts of material geographies of home: how home can be viewed as a process, and the significance of the objects we place in our home, and how they in turn reflect ways in which we construct home and signal its social differentiations (Miller, 2006, p24). I also use Miller's notion of cultural affordances and the embodiment of objects in the exploration of the sonic in the construction of home.

Building on the work of my Artist's Residency for Pavlov Media Lab in the Netherlands, *Settling Up* (2005), during which I transformed an empty house into an album of songs/sonic art about reflections of being a 'foreign' resident and outsider, this theory/practice paper further interrogates the complexities of and contradictions around notions of home amongst a variety of groups within one specific locale: the city of Brighton & Hove, and specifically, the seven participants of the Great Sussex Book Sprint at the University of Sussex, thereby aiming to make a contribution to sound art in terms of the psycho-geographies of place; a micro-historical and micro-geographical study of a micro-element of the city, and the story of how they happened to be in this particular space; and of how people experience, voice and 'sound' these experiences. I am using a variety of innovative methods coupled with an interrogation of home through a theoretical lens that draws upon urban studies, sound studies, sound art, and a practice element will involve the installation of sounds (based on data collected from field recordings, (auto-)ethnographical interviews). Sounds will be installed in the place in which we are co-writing. In this way, memories and narratives will be located within and layered upon a meaningful context: as temporary 'residents' of the Book Sprint space.

As a resident myself, I adopt an auto-audio-ethnographic approach to reflect on my own journey to and within the city as home, and in this collaborative writing-listening space.

Overarching methodology: co-(auto)ethnographic Trinitarian) COAT

My research constitutes a confluence of academic fields relating to 'home', conceived through a wide range of methodologies including: firstly, a series of audio interviews with each of the Book Sprint participants in order to present a deep-dive slice of views and perspectives, both academically and personally, and representative qualitative sample of views from approximately 50 local residents, using a simple interactive audio interview intervention approach, recording participants in the Book Sprint garden space (see Les Back's innovative suggestions of varied practice and incorporation of 'noise and the rhythms of life' into the idea of data, of 'soundmarks' and 'keynotes' (Bull & Back, 2016, p145-6)).

Secondly, an auto-audio-ethnographic approach (a reworking of Ellis, 2004), which rather than seeking to distance myself from participants, aims to form connections with other residents of the Book Sprint, city and university space, reconfiguring the Trinitarian methodology of 'academic, activist and artist positions', which Waddock (in Bull & Back, 2016, p155) adopts to "challenge the existing norms of soundscape research ... a blurring of the lines between researcher and research partner, artist and listener." Whereas Waddock was aiming to challenge Liverpool council's hegemonic view on 'dwellings'

by 'hearing' residents' voices, I am seeking to both elicit and share views on residency and home by adopting an co-auto-ethnographic-Trinitarian (C.O.A.T) methodology: 'academic, resident, artist' positions. Just as Waldock did, I wish to privilege the enabling of participants in the conducting and editing of their recordings in order to not to avoid overly-influencing their decisions but also to achieve an authentic sonic appropriation of home. However, I also aim to go further in the removal of the distance between researcher and subject by also sharing my own narrative (both 'mapping' and 'doing' critical geographies of home, after Brickell, 2012) and experiences of 'lived space' as a resident, which will serve to critically respond to space and contextualise the questions I ask in the interviews, creating a community-based purpose to the process, which itself is a fundamental part of the piece.

Thirdly, a theoretical investigation through practice regarding what is learned from the production of interactive technologies, again informed by auto-audio-ethnography, and how it is used, resulting in an analysis of the ideas of and around home, and experience of cities.

Methodological Approach: data collection using Grounded Theory inspired

Since the data I have collected revolves around responding to the elusive question of the qualities of home, I am adopting a qualitative approach. Specifically, and precisely because my project is emergent, I will use Grounded Theory as a framework to look for emerging patterns:

"a style of doing qualitative analysis that includes a number of distinct features, such as theoretical sampling, and certain methodological guidelines, such as the making of constant comparisons and the use of a coding paradigm, to ensure conceptual development and density." (Strauss, 1987, p5)

Strauss notes how the earlier phases of research are, inevitably, comparatively more 'open', and that several months could and indeed may need to pass before certain categories become clear: essentially, the researcher is led very much by the findings of their data. I am gathering a mass of data and then immediately looking out for clear patterns to emerge, so as to organise them systematically. I intend to respond sonically, artistically and musically by co-creating 'soundings' (explained in the next section).

Sonic methodology: com-posed soundings:

I am using a system of categorisation, and reappropriation of the distinct 'referential' sounds, and stories of home to create forms of 'homeplate' (Sonnenshein 2001: 123); essentially a metaphorical equivalent of the main musical theme or homeplate which identifies a character in the score of a film. I see my role as bringing ('placing') the strands of the stories and voices together, co-composing (in the sense of the French etymological meaning 'poser: to place') them along with participants' co-direction into a narrative whole as soundings (a re-appropriation of what Lane proposes as the 'sounding arts', in Gardner and Voegelin, 2016, Colloquium on Sound and Music), fusing sonic features, which could be described both as both sound and music, but may be best termed homeplate soundings. I apply the methodology of Grounded Theory to the various forms of sonic data recorded. However, given the nature of this methodological approach, certain forms emerge from this participatory approach, which are currently unknown. Even though I consider it essential to engage in doing/making a critical

geography of home myself before engaging participants, this is not considered in any way to be a model for participants' soundings. Moreover, I anticipate that theirs will be as unique and porous as each participant's experience of home itself, forming multiple scores (literally embodied lines, scorings, or impressions; a form of sonic topography or layers of resulting sonic palimpsest). Together, they may (or may not) form a coherent (or incoherent, recalling the notion of home as (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011) 'messy, mobile, blurred and confused') body of work, or com-position.

Research Findings and conclusion:

Of the seven participants, each gave very different views, with some notable similarities (the sense of being a migrant of some kind; the importance of food and smells; and in some cases, the symbolism and significance of pets) about what constitutes home, as summarised in the tables below. Often 'home' emerges as what Ralph and Staeheli (2011) term 'messy, mobile, blurred and confused'. There is also affirmation that home concerns the "construction, the deconstruction, and the reconstruction of the edifices in which we physically, as well as spiritually, imaginatively, and psychologically, dwell" (Lockford, 2002, p17), and also some resignation that return home is not only over-romanticised (see Conway in Ralph and Staeheli, 2011), but often impossible since it no longer exists (see table below). Elsewhere, there is repeated reference to home being something we make or construct, which is very much exemplified by this entire project, Book Sprint and supporting documents.

Ultimately, I would stress the importance of listening to the audio files (2 .wav files are available here: [10.6084/m9.figshare.5107636](https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.5107636)), listening to one another's stories and journeys, and considering our unique micro-geographies and micro-histories. I would urge the reader to do the same thing now and consider the recordings themselves as both data and performance. The following table is a good starting point, but I will let our stories speak for themselves. However, as interviewer-participant, I have added the script of my own auto-audio ethnography as part of supplementary material, accessible via the same link, which also includes the questions asked to each participant, in the body of the text.

The act of interviewing, recording and archiving each participant's responses, each of whom had a different critical and personal perspective on 'home', certainly helped to create a collective understanding of how we were approaching this innovative task. It also adds an extra, rich layer of audio data and authentic 'voice' to our final book.

I would strongly recommend that future Book Sprints consider adopting such a methodology, but would suggest that extra time is devoted to allow sufficient exploration. We cannot and should not separate ourselves as academics and as people with lived experience.

As for other possible outcomes of 'doing' critical geographies (and histories) and 'Life Listeners' as they might be termed (as opposed to the more established Life Writing), I would suggest that these recordings are then given further opportunity to 'speak' of home, in the form of installations and 'soundings' to provoke and encourage further debate on the nature of identity, belonging: Home.



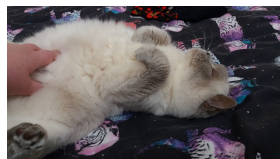
Daw, N. (2017) 'Look, smell and feel of Sussex countryside as Home: 1'



Daw, N. (2017) 'Look, smell and feel of Sussex countryside as Home: 2'



Daw, N. (2017) 'Look, smell and feel of Sussex countryside as Home: 3'



Neale, A. (2017) 'Whisper is home on Bed Island'

Summary table of the Book Sprint participants' responses to interviews on Home

Critical context	Summary	'Story of/Journey Home'	Key object(s)	Senses of home	Brighton & Hove as home?
A) History & Criminology	Multiple sites of home/ non-home; constant moving (24 homes/ moves); wherever the cat is; bed as 'home': an island: something smaller than a room.	Discovered they had Lithuanian roots when 16. Suffered severe illness as a child and cherishes security of home, and having own space (with cat, Whisper).	'Nan's' Christmas tree and an empty Victorian photo album passes down the family. Important photos have been scanned in so material photo is less important.	Being cosy and safe, especially in cotton duvet bed, described as 'bed island' (sensation of softness), sounds of birds, distant 'neighbourhood' noise are appealing. Also non-home evoked by noisy neighbours and smell of mould.	Yes, now. It was previously, and is again. Appreciates openness and tolerance of city, being near the sea and have 'access to architecture'.
B) History of Art	Very much grounded and formed by the positive experience of growing up and living in Sussex.	Sussex and especially a village outside Lewes, near Brighton has been a constant source of contentedness and inspiration.	Own photos of countryside in Sussex, especially near Kingston.	Visuals and sonic elements of countryside very important; layers of history (gates, pillbox, look and feel of rust). Smell of grass, hay and manure. Sussex smells different to other rural places. Images: 'WASTE NOT WANT NOT' on plaques in countryside.	No. Brighton too expensive. Lewes and the countryside and land in Sussex hold strong elements of identity and familial belonging (Sussex motto: 'We wunt be druv': we won't be driven/ pushed around).
C) Law	Has lived in different countries and is fascinated by what home might mean and 'Where is home for you' instead of 'Where are you from?' Name in Hindi means home.	Born in US to Indian parents and never fully felt belonging in US; spent holidays in India but now lives in UK.	A small metal charm-sized dog, always kept in back pockets to remind of home: being able to have a dog is an ideal and would symbolise belonging somewhere and the ideas of home.	'Toasted black pepper and cumin ground onto freshly made paneer encapsulate smell, taste and touch'. Also 1965 Bollywood song: Woh Kaun Thi? (Who was she?)	Hopes Brighton will continue to be a base where they can go away from and be able to come back to.

D) History	Home is more a journey than a place; you hopefully find a purpose along the way. Currently identifies as 'migratory'.	US citizen: grew up in Iowa, who has lived in between Germany (where there are familial roots), and US and now is based in UK.	No special objects.	The sensation, tastes and atmosphere of specific familial Thanksgiving in US. Can't be replicated elsewhere.	Wants to make it home, weather is perfect compared with extreme US weather experienced. Some elements of B&H not appealing, such as the city purporting to be more risqué that it may be. Feels 'at home' in UK, Germany and US.
E) Maths	Feels home is the place wherever they are. Somewhere quiet and safe.	Moved from Spain to Germany to UK. Had a feeling of belonging in Barcelona but is no longer home. Has a Catalan identity. Feels language is a site of home.	None. Objects are unimportant.	Smell of food and cooking associated with a sense of home: mixes Mediterranean food and some German cuisine (sweet mustard, schnitzel).	Brighton is home for now- would like to stay for as long as possible- feels comfortable. Had similar feeling in Germany.
F) Migration Studies	Strongly identifies as a 'world migrant'.	Has lived in a number of countries: born in Paraguay (no longer home); lived in Germany, Portugal and now UK.	Objects have been relinquished due to need to move on often. Sometimes everyday objects are amassed as a means of trying to stay in one place- anchoring themselves.	Coconut tree flower smelled 'out of place' in 2011 in Frankfurt reminded them of a Christmas smell in Paraguay. It evoked a 'lost familiarity' sensation since they wouldn't return to Paraguay again.	Wouldn't be surprised if they stay in Brighton, or Germany (education, ideologically), but going back is not generally a good idea.
G) Sonic Art/ Music/ Media	Considers home as a movement, a feeling; something elusive. uses sound art/ music 'soundings' to capture this sense, combining interviews, auto-ethnographic material, field recordings and composed music/ sounds.	Grew up in UK, then lived abroad in Spain, Australia, Yemen and Syria, but then returned to UK to bring up young children.	Pianos. Serve as link to memories and embodied experience of home, and as a compositional tool.	Smells of cooking and ingredients, especially Mediterranean herbs evoke memories of living away from UK and adventure/ difference. Sounds of swallows link to various locations globally, and also the sound of other languages evoke feelings of home and away.	Elected to live in the city as 'home' and has built life and research around this very topic.

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9. Conclusion

To conclude, the authors reflect on their experience of participating in the Book Sprint.

Marinela Barrios Aquino

In trying to bring clarity to my ideas and in deciding which voice I wanted to use in this chapter I realised that the entire process shifted directions several times, almost as if it had a life of its own. When I realised that just writing about something I already knew (as I imagined the Book Sprint was going to be) was not going to happen, I started a written negotiation of my thoughts that evolved into a narrative that was completely different from the one I had planned. Wriggling out of a *proper academic* tone was a struggle that I think is clearly represented in my chapter. The time limitations didn't allow me to fully understand or read what everybody else was doing and as a result I believe that the book will be a complete surprise for me and I am already looking forward to reading all the other chapters.

The main thing I have learned during this Book Sprint is that I still need to learn to respect my own voice and allow it to come through to reflect upon my academic ideas.

Eduard Campillo-Funollet

The Book Sprint showed me a completely different way to approach the writing process. Previously, I produced my pieces of academic writing by means of a long, iterative process, where I go over the work again and again. In contrast, for the Book Sprint I planned all the work in advance, and I stuck as far as possible to the original plan. During the first day I incorporated some of the ideas of my co-authors, but still limiting myself to the tools I already had in place. In other words, the Book Sprint process kept me to my plan, instead of wandering and revisiting the work as I normally do.

I have identified many connections with other chapters that I could not include in mind due to the limited time frame. I hope we could work on some of these in the future.

Another important remark is that the Book Sprint shows that a different way of writing, and up to a certain point, of doing research, is possible. Research is an intrinsically reflexive activity, that unavoidably requires time. Activities like the Book Sprint show that parts of the process, like writing, can be speeded up to deliver a final result in a very short time.

Naomi Daw

Throughout the Book Sprint we have had the opportunity to read other people's chapters, which allowed us all to consider the idea of 'home' from the perspective of different academic fields. We have also had very detailed discussions around the theme of home, and what it means to us on a personal

basis. Our discussions have highlighted the many links between our chapters; initially, our topics seemed very disparate, but over the course of the Book Sprint they have become more closely aligned to the unifying theme of 'home'. One of the major themes that appeared was the idea of home in relation to boundaries: crossing boundaries, blurring boundaries, porous boundaries. For many of the chapters, home is not necessarily a fixed place or space, it seems to be formed in *relation* to other people, places, objects, and so on. The significance of sensory experience in relation to the concept of home has also provided a link and a common subtheme to the different chapters. For all the chapters in this book, ideas of space, place and the home are multifaceted.

Ketan Jha

I am elated that I took part in the Book Sprint. I was happy to identify a number of linkages with topics written by other authors – particularly with Marianela's work, given that we were both writing from a migration perspective. It was also enlightening to learn about Alexa's take on the more shadowy, deviant, or criminal side of 'home' as it prompted reflection on how the same logic might be applied to community. I feel my thinking is richer for having taken part. In terms of process, I learned that to do my best work, I need to be working on multiple monitors. I also learned that separating the literature review and writing process is a wise idea – as I was strained for time even towards the end. Part of this may have been down to gradual recognition that the framework I proposed was too much to tackle in 4 days.

Myles Logan Miller

The Book Sprint has been an interesting, albeit stressful, endeavour. I initially came into the project looking to explore the concept of agency and sovereignty in one's home, yet after hearing a good amount of topics that revolved around migration I made the, ill-advised, decision to move out of my academic comfort zone and explore migration in Roman and post-Roman Britain. Eventually deciding to move back into my field of East German history, I'm able to connect both ideas. Those migrant tribes coming to Britain were strangers in another's land, East Germans were also strangers in a foreign land. This land, however, had once belonged to them; they had lost sovereignty and to an extent agency in their own homes. This connection has also slightly shifted how I have come to think about home, agency, and identity. While not terribly radical this idea of 'social homelessness' that I briefly explore, where individuals are essentially foreigners in their own land is a concept that I do intend to work into and more adequately explore in my PhD research. I think exploring the idea of security in the home will also become a talking point in my research as it takes the everyday impact of privatisation and explores its relationship to an individual's self-perception.

Alexa Neale

'Quality not quantity' was the advice I received from senior academics on publishing as a doctoral and early career researcher. Better to have a couple of articles in high-quality, reputable, peer-reviewed publications than many pieces of writing all over the internet, they said. On the other hand, the university, and particularly the Library and Doctoral School, highlight the importance of Impact and Open Access. While there are excellent arguments for both these strategies, I feel that participating in the Book Sprint and contributing to an Open Access, online publication has been a really useful experience. My research has such interdisciplinary and wide appeal (who doesn't love a good murder story?)

that I am eager for opportunities to share it as widely as possible. I've many, many personal take-aways (about overcoming my perfectionism and procrastination demons, the importance of hydration and good diet to the writing process, and how much I've been able to get done when I haven't had to prepare my own meals or do my own formatting or proof-reading – thank you Catherine and the library staff). But most significantly I've learned that collaborating with other researchers on a piece of writing is more satisfying and more fruitful than I had imagined. We have supported each other and held each other accountable, inspired, challenged and consoled each other. I feel that future Book Sprints should include more critical engagement between colleagues, more time reading each other's work making deeper intellectual links between research topics. Personally, I will be seeking more opportunities to collaborate on research and writing in future because of this experience.

Tom Ottway

I found working on the Book Sprint to be extremely absorbing and challenging, in a good way. It enabled me to take a novel approach to 'writing' a book: I decided to interview each participant on both their conceptual, academic and also personal views and perspectives on home. I would say that whatever you think you are going to do, you need to leave those ideas at the door when you do a Book Sprint. Having been encouraged to experiment with the form and outcome of the 'book', I was able to produce in four days 5,000 words of analysis and a two-and-a-half-hour edited podcast of all seven participants' views on home. I plan now to continue listening to these interviews, and hopefully, with their permission, will soon be able to create a soundscape installation in the gardens of the Sussex Humanities Lab, where this book was conceived and produced, on the varying voices of and on 'home'.

10. Contributors

Marianela Barrios Aquino obtained a BA in Sociology at the University of Salamanca (Spain). She started her postgraduate education in the Institute of Social Sciences at the University of Lisbon, during which time she was also a Visiting Scholar at the Institute for the Study of International Migration of Georgetown University. Currently she is a PhD candidate in the Sussex Centre for Migration Research at the University of Sussex. Her research interests include issues regarding the experience of migration and citizenship, as well as issues of identity negotiation in transnational contexts.

Eduard Campillo-Funollet is a final-year PhD researcher at the University of Sussex. He studied mathematics at the University of Barcelona, and later moved to Germany to work as a research assistant. In 2014, he joined the University of Sussex to pursue a PhD in mathematical biology. He designs and applies mathematical tools to bridge the gap between mathematical models and real-world observations, and he is always looking for new problems to apply these techniques. Eduard's goal is to provide rigorous ways to understand data and to acquire new information.

Naomi Daw is a second-year PhD researcher based in the Department of Art History at the University of Sussex. Her PhD thesis investigates the relationship between popular photographic technologies and travel to the Far East in the period 1860-1910. She is particularly interested in the representation of travel sites through the stereoscope, magic lantern, and early film. Naomi completed her undergraduate degree and Masters in Art History, also at the University of Sussex.

Ketan Jha is a doctoral researcher at the University of Sussex and legal consultant for Plan B Earth. He began PhD study at Sussex in 2016 after completing his law degree and master's degree at the same institution. He served as a law clerk at the District of Columbia Office of Tax and Revenue, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, and has worked in private practice in London, Delhi, and Boston, including time as a law clerk at the firm of former U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft. His thesis focuses on climate change litigation, exploring the potential for such litigation to reform staid legal doctrines such as standing, causation, and redressability to reflect diffuse intergenerational harms.

Myles Logan Miller is a first-year PhD researcher at the University of Sussex who is originally from the small town of Solon Iowa in the United States of America. He has also spent time living in the village of Schneeberg Germany, in the state of Saxony, which sparked his interest in East German history. Myles holds a B.A. in both History and German from Creighton University in Omaha Nebraska, as well as an M.A. in Modern European History from the University of Sussex in Brighton. Myles' PhD focus is on the *Treuhandanstalt's* privatisation of East German industry and its effects on East German identity and agency.

Alexa Neale completed her PhD in History at Sussex in 2016, where her doctoral thesis used case files for murder trials at the Old Bailey to explore lived experiences of home spaces in twentieth-century London with all their gendered, raced and classed inflections. Alexa's research continues to explore narratives of crimes and their cultural meanings in her role as Research Fellow in Historical Criminology at Sussex, working with Lizzie Seal on the Leverhulme Trust-funded project 'Race, Racialisation and

the Death Penalty in England and Wales, 1900-1965'. Alexa is also interested in interpretations and representations of crime scenes, both in and out of home, including photographs, models and miniatures.

Tom Ottway is an artist, composer, PhD researcher and lecturer in the School of Media, Film & Music at the University of Sussex. His Creative Practice PhD research is entitled *Sonic Home and Composition*, which explores through theory and practice how (auto) ethnographies and sonic interactive art can be combined to answer the question of what the sonic qualities of home are, in relation to the other senses. His interest in home, homelands, residency and belonging has its genesis in having lived abroad, working with international students for many years teaching and training students and teachers studying English as a Second or Additional Language. In 2005 he did an artist's residency for Pavlov Media Lab in the Netherlands on the topic of 'residency', where he transformed an empty house into an album of music, creating songs and films for each room. He remains fascinated by the sonic qualities of language in combination with referential cultural sounds and 'soundmarks' in the creation of his compositions.